FOREIGN
BROADCAST
INFORMATION
SERVICE

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-90-206
Wednesday
24 October 1990

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-90-206 CONTENTS *24 October 1990*

NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

INTRABLOC AFFAIRS

- Warsaw Pact's Nov Meeting Postponed Indefinitely
  - USSR Requests Postponement *[Budapest Radio]* 1
  - Official Report To Be Issued 24 Oct *[Prague Radio]* 1
  - Havel Address Not Cause of Postponement *[CTK]* 1
  - Disagreement on Arms Quotas Denied *[Budapest Radio]* 1
  - Moscow 'Justification' Expected *[Budapest Radio]* 1

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

- Balkan Foreign Ministers Arrive in Tirana *[ATA]* 2
  - Albania's Malile Opens Meeting *[ATA]* 2
- Prague-Based Helsinki Assembly Established *[CTK]* 2
  - Havel Sees New European Structure *[Prague Radio]* 3
- UNICEF Conference Considers Plight of East *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 17 Oct]* 3

BULGARIA

- Semerdzhiev Meets Husayn, Delivers Zhelev Note *[BTA]* 4
- Gotsev Departs for Balkan Conference in Albania *[BTA]* 4
  - Stops in Skopje, Meets Leaders *[BTA]* 4
- EC Grants More Aid; Effects of Reform Noted *[BTA]* 4
- Presidential Adviser Ludzhev on Turkish Relations *[BTA]* 5
- Simeonov Seeks Food, Medicine on Visit to Greece *[DUMA 18 Oct]* 5
- SFRY Chief of Staff 'Very Satisfied' With Visit *[NARODNA ARMIYA 22 Oct]* 5
- Report on Agricultural Agreement With U.S. *[BTA]* 6
- BSP, SDS Reach Agreement on Depoliticization *[Sofia Radio]* 7
- Foreign Ministry TU Supports Depoliticization *[BTA]* 7
- Tenev Claims Socialists Will Support Lukanov Plan *[BTA]* 7
- Working Group Outlines Plans To Deal With Crisis *[DUMA 21 Oct]* 8
- Government Discusses Budget, Bill on Religion *[Sofia Radio]* 9
- Power Supply System Said Relatively Well Prepared *[DUMA 20 Oct]* 9
- Minister on Upcoming Rise in Fares, Freight Costs *[DUMA 18 Oct]* 10
- Chemical Warfare Troops To Continue Functioning *[NARODNA ARMIYA 19 Oct]* 10
- Radiation Effects Discussed at News Conference *[Sofia Radio]* 11
- Fight at Democratic Constitution Party Meeting *[DUMA 18 Oct]* 11
- Results of Parties' Popularity Poll Analyzed *[Genov in NARODNA ARMIYA 18 Oct]* 11
- 'Ilinden' Organization Seeks Legal Registration *[DUMA 20 Oct]* 12
- G. Filipov, D. Stoyanov Removal From BSP Noted *[DUMA 21 Oct]* 13
- DEMOKRATSIYA Protests Cut in Newsprint *[15 Oct]* 13
- Liberal Democratic Party's Koshev on Party's Base *[DUMA 19 Oct]* 13
- Suspension of Christian Democratic Daily Explained *[DUMA 18 Oct]* 14
- Writer Georgi Markov's Murder Under Investigation *[BTA]* 15

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

- Government Criticized for Lack of 'Transparence' *[Pechackova in MLADA FRONTA DNES 20 Oct]* 16
- Collective Guilt of Former Communists Rejected *[CTK]* 16
- Former Communist Leader on Communist Regime Fall *[CTK]* 17

Demonstrating Farmers Meet President Havel *[CTK]* 17
Czech Premier Interviewed on Government, Moravia *[Prague Radio]* 17
Czech Government Seeks Federation Bill Amendment *[CTK]* 19
Klaus Says Civic Forum Views To Shift to Right *[CTK]* 20
Havel Talks With Skoda Employees in Plzen *[Prague Radio]* 20
Rescue of 9 Czech Miners Halted; 30 Dead *[CTK]* 20
Fuel Shortage Halts Olomouc Transportation System *[RUDE PRAVO 19 Oct]* 21
Deputy Slovak Premier on Andras Affair *[Bratislava Radio]* 21
    Meciar Comments on Remarks *[Bratislava Radio]* 22
Chairman Gal Discusses VPN Election Issues *[NARODNA OBRODA 18 Oct]* 23
VPN's Gal Analyzes Political Situation *[VEREJNOST 20 Oct]* 24
Slovak Freedom Party Chairman Outlines Policy *[CTK]* 25
State Bank Chairman on Impact of 'Oil Shock' *[SVOBODNE SLOVO 15 Oct]* 25
World Bank Credits at $500-660 Million *[CTK]* 25
Differences With Hungary on Danube Project Cited *[CTK]* 26

HUNGARY

Prime Minister Antall Hospitalized 27
    MTI Reports Hospitalization 27
    Biopsy To Be Performed *[Budapest Radio]* 27
Anniversary of 1956 Revolution Commemorated 27
    Antall Speaks Before National Assembly *[Budapest Radio]* 27
    Goncz Speaks Before Assembly *[Budapest Radio]* 28
    Commemorations Held Nationwide *[MTI]* 30
    Freedom Fighters' Rally Held *[MTI]* 30
    Incidents Reported at Mass Rally *[Budapest Radio]* 30
    Wreaths Laid at Nagy Gravesite *[MTI]* 31
    National Day Marked in Prague, Bonn *[MTI]* 31
    PRAVDA Assessment of 1956 Cited *[Budapest Radio]* 31
Finance Minister Rabar on Economic Forecast *[NEPSZABADSAG 21 Oct]* 31
Economic Official on 1990-1991 Estimates *[NEPSZABADSAG 19 Oct]* 33
Lithuanian President Landsbergis Pays Visit 34
    Received by Goncz *[Budapest Radio]* 34
    Compares Lithuania, Hungary in 1956 *[Budapest Radio]* 34
Hong Kong Chinese To Be Allowed To Settle *[NEPSZABADSAG 20 Oct]* 34

POLAND

Mazowiecki Heads Council of Ministers Debates *[PAP]* 36
    Mazowiecki on Military Draft Order *[Warsaw Radio]* 36
Balcerowicz Seen as Possible Prime Minister *[Warsaw Radio]* 36
Mazowiecki Holds Election Meeting in Poznan *[PAP]* 36
Jaruzelski Firmly Declines Presidential Nomination *[PAP]* 37
Views of Minor Presidential Candidates Presented *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 19 Oct]* 37
Center Alliance Explains New Political Vocabulary *[GAZETA KRAKOWSKA 28 Sep]* 38
Further Indictment on Priest's Murder 'Likely' *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 20-21 Oct]* 39
Balcerowicz Interviewed on Economic Development *[Vienna PROFIL 22 Oct]* 40
Privatization Draft for Communications Sector *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 18 Oct]* 41
Communications Official on Private Broadcasting *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 19 Oct]* 42
Article Views RSW Liquidation Debate *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 18 Oct]* 43
Government Spokesman's 19 Oct News Conference *[PAP]* 44
Eastern Policy To Be Judged on Results *[Stankiewicz in RZECZPOSPOLITA 17 Oct]* 44
Foreign Ministry Official on Polish-Russian Pact *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 17 Oct]* 45
Walesa Meets Argentina's Menem in Gdansk *[PAP]* 46

ROMANIA

Prime Minister Continues Western European Tour *[ROMPRES]* 47
Foreign Minister Interviewed on New Balkan Ties *[LIBERTATEA 15-16 Oct]* 47
    Leaves for Tirana, Makes Statement *[ROMPRES]* 48

Academy President Opens Joint FRG Colloquium *[ROMPRES]* 48
U.S. Company Conference on Ploiesti Oil Refinery *[ROMPRES]* 49
Joint U.S. Radio Frequency Management Symposium *[ROMPRES]* 49
Senate Rejects Government Proposal, Approves Bill *[ROMPRES]* 49
Deputies' Assembly Continues Discussing Bills *[ROMPRES]* 50
FSN Vice President on Party's Current Position *[ROMPRES]* 50
Discontent Among Citizens, Parties Noted *[DREPTATEA 11 Oct]* 50
State Secretary Dijmanescu on Price Liberalization *[ROMPRES]* 51
Situation of Farmed Arable Land Reviewed *[ROMPRES]* 51
New Police Chief on Goals of Police Activity *[ADEVARUL 12 Oct]* 51
Students Demand Admittance to Medical School *[ROMPRES]* 52
SZR Protests Government Press Decision *[ROMPRES]* 52
Former PCR Members' Trial Continues *[ROMPRES]* 52
Stanculescu's News Conference on Army Issues *[ROMANIA LIBERA 17 Oct]* 53

YUGOSLAVIA

Serbian Assembly Adopts Laws To Protect Economy *[TANJUG]* 54
Rumors of Tax on Slovene Goods in Serbia Noted *[VJESNIK 20 Oct]* 54
Radmilovic Criticizes Federal Economic Measures *[Belgrade Radio]* 54
Serb Assembly Wants FEC's Mitrovic Removed *[TANJUG]* 55
Renewal Party To Run in Election if Counting Open *[TANJUG]* 55
Media To Grant Equal Access for Serb Candidates *[TANJUG]* 55
Bosnian Presidency Rejects Federal Crisis Plan *[BORBA 18 Oct]* 55
Macedonian Presidency Seeks Equality of Republics *[TANJUG]* 56
Macedonian Social Democrats Leaving Coalition *[TANJUG]* 56
Serb Autonomy Party in Croatia Issues Platform *[TANJUG]* 56
Serb Party in Kosovo Reconvenes Conference *[TANJUG]* 57
Albanian Reserve Officers Complain of Dismissals *[BORBA 8 Oct]* 57
Serbian National Council for Hercegovina Founded *[TANJUG]* 58
Markovic Addresses Alliance of Reformist Forces *[TANJUG]* 58
Formation of Yugoslav 'Coalition Bloc' Initiated *[TANJUG]* 58
Presidency To Hold Regular Session in Macedonia *[Belgrade Radio]* 59
Journalist Indicted Over Markovic Article *[TANJUG]* 59
New 'Independent' Federal TV Station To Open *[TANJUG]* 59
    Belgrade TV Refuses To Carry Programs *[TANJUG]* 59
Private News Magazine VREME To Appear 29 Oct *[TANJUG]* 59
War Veterans Promise Support for Markovic *[TANJUG]* 60
Democratic Union of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia Formed *[BTA]* 60
Jovic Praises UN Role, Notes Challenges *[TANJUG]* 60

Warsaw Pact's Nov Meeting Postponed Indefinitely

USSR Requests Postponement

LD2310180290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] A responsible official of the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry has announced that the session of the Warsaw Pact political organization, which was to have taken place in Budapest at the beginning of next month, has been postponed for an indefinite period. The change of timing has been requested by the Soviet Union, but it is not yet known why.

Official Report To Be Issued 24 Oct

LD2310213190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2100 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] The planned session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee will not take place in Budapest on 3 and 4 November. It will be postponed and no specific date has so far been set. A CTK correspondent learned this from sources close to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The Warsaw Pact member states are currently consulting on further possible action. A joint official report is due to be issued tomorrow.

Havel Address Not Cause of Postponement

LD2410110690 Prague CTK in English 0958 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 24 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak president's office announced today it received information from Soviet Ambassador Boris Pankin on October 22 that the Soviet Union was asking for a postponement of a Warsaw Pact meeting scheduled for the beginning of next month. Czechoslovakia has not yet answered.

The office referred to a REUTERS report of October 23 that the postponement "may have been prompted by a weekend statement by Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel". The office said that the president's statements in his regular Sunday radio address on October 21 "could have no influence on the Soviet decision because the Hungarian side, hosts of the planned meeting, was notified about the Soviet request on the evening of Saturday, October 20".

The meeting of the political consultative committee of the Warsaw Treaty was scheduled for November 3-4. A joint official report of the Warsaw Pact members is expected today.

Disagreement on Arms Quotas Denied

LD2410130690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Announcer-read report on remarks by an unidentified Hungarian Foreign Ministry spokesman at an "international news conference" held by Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky on 24 October; place of news conference not given]

[Text] The Foreign Ministry spokesman denied that the Budapest session of the Warsaw Pact Political consultative Committee has been postponed because they would not have been able to agree on the disarmament quotas. He also added that in the past two days, in Warsaw, the envoys of the governments concerned have held a session in this matter and the discussions are being continued.

Moscow 'Justification' Expected

LD2410134490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 24 Oct 90

[By correspondent Zoltan Tamasi]

[Text] Only tonight will an official Soviet communique be issued about something we have known since yesterday: that the Budapest session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee, which was to be held in our capital on 3-4 November, is being postponed. The justification will no doubt mention that likewise in November, at the European summit meeting in Paris, they will debate numerous issues that could also affect the future of the Warsaw Pact. Thus, only after Paris will it be worth convening the bloc's leading political body.

At the same time, another reason for the Soviet postponement could be that the Soviet side is not yet ready to give a substantive reply to the proposals connected with the alliance's military situation, which the Czechoslovak and the Hungarian sides would probably have raised at Budapest.

Balkan Foreign Ministers Arrive in Tirana

AU2410134990 Tirana ATA in English 0940 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Tirana, October 23 (ATA)—The foreign minister of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Lyuben Gotsev; the minister of foreign affairs of the Hellenic Republic, Andonios Samaras; the minister of foreign affairs of Romania, Adrian Nastase; the minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Turkey, Ahmet Kurtcebe Alptemocin; and the federal secretary for foreign affairs of Yugoslavia, Budimir Loncar, who lead the delegations of these states in the foreign ministers' meeting of the Balkan states, arrived in Tirana today.

The foreign ministers of the Balkan countries were welcomed by the minister of foreign affairs of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Reis Malile and functionaries of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Present were also the heads of the diplomatic representatives of the Balkan states accredited in Tirana.

At the reception of the foreign ministers at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Reis Malile wished them welcome and voiced his confidence that the Tirana meeting will mark steps forward in the further development of the process of Balkan cooperation and understanding, as well as the willingness to attain concrete results, through concerted efforts and constructive spirit, in the strengthening of the friendship among the peoples of the region, in the extension and consolidation of cooperation in all fields of mutual interest, to the benefit of peace and security in the Balkans, Europe, and beyond.

The meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs, in which delegations of the six Balkan countries will participate, will begin its proceedings in one of the halls of the Palace of Congresses in the capital tomorrow morning [24 Oct]. As it is reported the delegations will exchange opinions on the activities conducted since the first foreign ministers' meeting in Belgrade, and will discuss on finding new paths for the deepening of the Balkan process and its integration in the all-European process of security and cooperation in the context of the CSCE.

A great number of journalists and reporters of the news agencies, press and radio-TV organs from all the Balkan countries, as well as from other countries of Europe and the world have come to attend the proceedings of the Tirana meeting.

Albania's Malile Opens Meeting

AU2410135390 Tirana ATA in English 0947 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Tirana, October 24 (ATA)—The meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan states started its proceedings in one of the environments of the Palace of Congresses in Tirana on October 24 at 1000. Attending are the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria headed by Lyuben Gotsev, minister for foreign affairs; the delegation of the Hellenic Republic headed by Andonios Samaras, minister for foreign affairs; the delegation of Romania, headed by Adrian Nastase, minister for foreign affairs; the delegation of the Republic of Turkey headed by Ahmet Kurtcebe Alptemocin, minister for foreign affairs; the delegation of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia headed by Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs; and the delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania headed by Reis Malile, minister for foreign affairs.

Prior to the meeting, Comrade Ramiz Alia, president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, met with the ministers for foreign affairs of the Balkan states.

Reis Malile, minister for foreign affairs of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, declared the meeting open in the capacity of the chairman as host country. Then, Comrade Ramiz Alia, president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, greeted the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan states.

Prague-Based Helsinki Assembly Established

LD2110164290 Prague CTK in English 1552 GMT 21 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 21 (CTK)—The Helsinki Citizens Assembly was established here today as a new platform, open to the public, to help radicalize the Helsinki process of security and cooperation in Europe "from below."

The decision was made in conclusion of a three-day meeting of about 700 representatives of 35 countries-signatories of the 1975 Helsinki Final Act. Prague has become the seat of the Helsinki Citizens Assembly secretariat. Six permanent working commissions were set up to deal with peace and demilitarization, economy and ecology, human rights, nationalism-federalism, European institutions and the women's situation. Helsinki Citizens Assembly national committees will be set up in each of the 35 countries and will delegate two representatives (a man and a woman) to the international coordinating committee.

In his address today, Spanish Minister of Culture Jorge Semprun dealt with the role of the left at present and spoke of the crisis of Marxism and leftist political trends in general. In his opinion the left no longer denies private ownership and does not know where to look for its identity.

Co-chairman of the session, once a dissident and now a Czech Government Minister Jaroslav Sabata stated that the Assembly faces a noble goal, spreading over a number of years. "We shall seek the unification of Europe on a democratic and peaceful platform. United Europe, respecting the rights of nations and the minorities, should become an example for the rest of the world," Sabata said.

Havel Sees New European Structure

LD1910223190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1428 GMT 19 Oct 90

[Correspondent Stanislav Benda report from Prague on Helsinki Citizens Assembly constituent meeting on 19 October, including recorded statement by CSFR President Vaclav Havel]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Benda] This morning's opening session was addressed by, among others, Vaclav Havel, president of the Republic. Among other things, he spoke about whether the original ideas of the former dissidents are still valid or whether they are drifting away from them due to the influence of the high offices they hold. The rough answer is that positions and responsibilities may have changed the forms and methods but not the principles of these ideals. Looking ahead to the future of Europe, Vaclav Havel said in part:

[Havel] In Western as well as Eastern Europe various structures and organizations exist: the Atlantic pact, the European Community, the Council of Europe, the Warsaw Pact, the CEMA, and such things. It appears to me that the new situation which has emerged in Europe as a result of the liberation of the countries of the former communist bloc has placed these existing European organizations, institutions, and structures in a totally new situation in which they are having to think about their future.

It seems to me that they can be divided roughly into two categories. The first categroy includes those organizations and institutions which have a future and purpose, which have proved themselves, and which should endeavor to open themselves up quickly to the new, recently liberated countries, seek ways of drawing closer to them, and establish contacts. These organizations, probably all of them, are facing the task of transforming themselves and adapting themselves to a new time.

Besides these there are among the existing institutions those which are evidently doomed to extinction sooner or later. They are those which have outlived their purpose, a purpose from the times of the cold war which has been lost. They were, for instance, the expression of Stalinist expansionism and such things. These are the structures which have been condemned to extinction.

Naturally, beside all of these existing structures there exists then the need to set up totally new structures and various communities that are springing up from this very moment and from this totally new situation. Many people in Europe—ranging from politicians to ordinary citizens—are thinking about this intensively.

[Benda] This constituent assembly is proof of this. The three-day deliberations will continue in five commissions and all of its participants, including Jaroslav Sabata, one of the vice chairmen of the preparatory committee, are convinced that by next Sunday afternoon they will have taken another step toward a united Europe.

Parallel with this constituent meeting an international cultural undertaking, "People to people," is going to take place. Musicians, graphic artists, and other artists will give performances in many places in Prague.

UNICEF Conference Considers Plight of East

AU2310121990 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 17 Oct 90 pp 1, 5

[Katarzyna Nazarewicz report: "UNICEF Meeting in Warsaw"]

[Text] Yesterday in Warsaw marked the beginning of an international UNICEF conference on the subject of social policy toward children in Central and Eastern Europe, in other words, countries that are only just creating market economies.

Apart from UNICEF representatives, the conference was attended by experts from seven Central European countries: Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Romania, Poland, Hungary, and the USSR. The conference is the practical outcome of the decisions reached at the UN summit in New York.

"Many Third World countries are far poorer than the ones that were communist until recently," said UNICEF Deputy Director General Richard Jolly at the opening of the talks, "yet the danger of a drastic deterioration in the standard of living is far greater here. The protection of mankind was never considered in this part of Europe, so now the economic changes will primarily affect those who are the weakest: children."

Giovanni Cornia from the European department of UNICEF in Florence described Eastern Europe as a post-socialist wilderness. "Our task is to lay down at least a minimum emergency program. We cannot argue over utopian patterns."

Minister of State Ion Aurel Stoica, head of the Romanian delegation, described his country's present situation as a historic crossroads. "Children have suffered more than anyone else as a result of the dictatorship of the two Antichrists. The decree that forbade abortions was neobarbaric, for we were unable to guarantee basic living conditions for young Romanians. Children suffered and died and the country lived in poverty. Thus, the genocide was directed against them. Now we must learn to change that."

Semerdzhiev Meets Husayn, Delivers Zhelev Note

AU2310180090 Sofia BTA in English 1722 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 23 Oct (BTA)—A representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has informed a BTA reporter that yesterday Vice President Atanas Semerdzhiev had a meeting with representatives of the Bulgarians who are working in Iraq and with the members of the Bulgarian diplomatic mission in Baghdad.

The Bulgarian delegation and the Iraqi delegation headed by Vice President Taha Muhyi-al-Din Ma'ruf opened their talks.

In a piece of information released by the IRAQI NEWS AGENCY (INA) and cited by AFP it is said that today Mr. Semerdzhiev was received by Iraqi President Saddam Husayn to whom he handed a message from Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of Bulgaria. The representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs pointed out that the formulation "the message concerns the bilateral relations and their promotion" used by INA is to be treated entirely as Iraq's own assessment.

Gotsev Departs for Balkan Conference in Albania

AU2310134390 Sofia BTA in English 1124 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 23 Oct (BTA)—Mr. Lyuben Gotsev, minister of foreign affairs, today left for Albania. He will attend the second meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan countries, which will be held in Tirana on October 24 and 25.

Stops in Skopje, Meets Leaders

AU2310203990 Sofia BTA in English 1932 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Oct (BTA correspondent)—On his way to Tirana Mr. Lyuben Gotsev, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, paid a visit to Skopje where he had a meeting with Mr. Dragoljub Stavrev, member of the Presidium of Socialist Republic Macedonia, and with Mr. Boris Rikalovski, republican secretary for foreign relations.

The two sides discussed some topical problems of Bulgaro-Yugoslav relations and some aspects of multilateral cooperation in the Balkans. Special attention was paid to the possibilities of promoting the economic and cultural cooperation between Bulgaria and Socialist Republic Macedonia.

EC Grants More Aid; Effects of Reform Noted

AU2310212190 Sofia BTA in English 2023 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] Brussels, 23 Oct (BTA correspondent)—Two documents were circulated today in the Commission of the European Communities in which the necessity of granting additional economic aid to the countries in Central and Eastern Europe is analyzed.

In the first document a general evaluation is made of the situation with the foreign payments of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia and of their prospects. Special attention is paid to the consequences of the Gulf crisis and the CMEA transition to hard currency payments at current prices prevailing in the world market.

The situation with Bulgaria's foreign payments is especially serious because the burden of servicing its foreign debt is the greatest. There still is a great deficit in its current payments, (although there has been certain improvement compared with 1988) mainly because of the acute foreign currency shortage and the sharp contraction of domestic consumption and of imports ensuing from it. Unlike Poland and Hungary, for the time being the efforts for tackling the situation are modest. The government is trying to obtain a long-term determent of the country's debt by negotiating with the commercial banks, which on their turn are waiting for the authorities' reaching an agreement with the International Monetary Fund in which Bulgaria was admitted in September, it is said in the document.

An analysis is made of the losses each of the countries will suffer next year as a result of the price reform in the CMEA, the rise in petrol prices and the Persian Gulf crisis.

Bulgaria's losses are expected to be to the tune of more than three milliard dollars.

As to its financial deficit, the specialists of the Commission of the European Communities have concluded that Bulgaria is the most serious case.

The official revenue will suffice to cover only a small part of the financial requirement and it is hardly likely that any additional wherewithal would be secured from private sources. As a result there will be a deficit of almost two milliard dollars' worth. Besides it is greatly doubtful that the country would be able to refinance the debt it is to redeem in 1991, it is pointed out in the document.

The Commission sees a way out of the situation in reaching agreement with the International Monetary Fund and with other international creditors, which would stimulate, to a certain extent, the stream of foreign investment.

To leave these countries to tackle the situation alone would mean adding an additional burden on their population and would pose a threat to the successful implementation of the reforms, it is underlined in conclusion.

In the second document it is recommended to the Group-24 to render technical assistance for the reconstruction of the refineries in Central and Eastern Europe which now are fit for processing Soviet petrol only.

Presidential Adviser Ludzhev on Turkish Relations

AU2410101390 Sofia BTA in English 0930 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 24 Oct (BTA)—Under the above-mentioned headline the OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK paper carries an interview with Mr. Dimitur Ludzhev, adviser of the president, held with him before he left for Turkey. The advisers of the Bulgarian president, Mr. Ludzhev and Mr. Ognyan Pishev, will pay a visit to Ankara at the invitation of the president of Turkey.

Not only did Turkey not increase her military forces in the areas bordering on Bulgaria, but she has even re-deployed part of them in other regions, Mr. Ludzhev pointed out. He recalled that at the meeting Mr. Turgut Ozal and Mr. Andrey Lukanov had in September it was agreed to open negotiations on the further reduction of troops.

The president's adviser noted that the main purpose of the present visit to Turkey is to get familiar with Turkey's position on the two countries' relations. "It will be exceptionally useful if the two countries manage to make a break with the traces of the past; at the moment there is nothing to hinder either side from doing it", he said. In his opinion the assertion of a climate of confidence and cooperation between Bulgaria and Turkey is directly related to the settlement of the country's national security and Bulgaria's stand on conventional armament reduction within the Warsaw Treaty Organization depends on it to a great extent.

"We should defend in deed the new understanding we have of security and guarantees should be sought not from this or that great power, but should be secured by joining the all-European security system and by settling openly and honestly our relations with our neighbors, paying due attention to mutual interests at the same time," Mr. Ludzhev said.

The other goal of the visit is to clarify the possibilities for economic cooperation between Bulgaria and Turkey. The president's adviser considers that quickly developing Turkey offers extraordinarily good opportunities in this field. Projects for financial and commodity credit lines are being worked out along with projects for electric power supply and possibly of creating a free zone in southern Bulgaria. Some of these ideas will be discussed during the visit of a group of Turkish economists and businessmen to Bulgaria who are expected to arrive here tomorrow. The delegation will be headed by Minister of State Celebi.

Simeonov Seeks Food, Medicine on Visit to Greece

AU2310153490 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 18 Oct 90 p 3

[Excerpts] Athens, 17 Oct (DUMA correspondent Tsocho Shatrov)—"Give us the oranges which you are burying in the earth," said Mr. Petko Simeonov to Greek journalists from right-wing newspapers and television. Mr. Simeonov was visiting Greece at the head of a delegation of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] to study the experience of the ruling New Democracy Party in the local election campaign. In addition, he requested aid in the form of children's food and medicines, because of the risk of epidemics in Bulgaria.

According to ELEVTHEROTIPIA, the other members of the delegation, Mrs. Lea Koen and Mr. Doncho Papazov, also expressed their concern about Bulgaria during the coming winter. The three members of parliament stated that the expected aid will be handed over to President Zhelev, and not to "the government of the communist Lukanov." According to the same source, the Bulgarian delegation was received by Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis, to whom it conveyed special greetings from President Zhelyu Zhelev. The delegation reminded the prime minister of his promise to assist our country in cooperation with the EC at this difficult time for Bulgaria. [passage omitted]

The readers of DUMA are able to learn all this information thanks to the journalists of the right-wing press, who were the only ones invited to the meeting with the delegation. The foreign correspondents, including several Bulgarians, were not thought worthy of attention, which is the second time this has occurred with an SDS delegation on a visit to Greece.

SFRY Chief of Staff 'Very Satisfied' With Visit

AU2410095390 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 22 Oct 90 pp 1,4

[Report by Captain of the 2nd Rank Tsvyatko Donchev and Senior Lieutenant Krasimir Uzunov on visit of Colonel General Blagoje Adzic, chief of the SFRY Army's General Staff, on 20 and 21 October: "Let Us Be Good Neighbors"]

[Excerpts] We have been dropped in the Balkans—in one of the most controversial places in the world, but one of the most beautiful spots on the map, an area that is blessed by nature. We are situated at the far end of Europe, beyond the perimeter of the processes of reunification and of the establishing of common borders, beyond the perimeter of Central European disarmament.

This is what we are—we represent the southern flank, or the powder keg of the continent, of religions, and history—whatever definition you like. We are like our ancestors 1,000 years ago, but we are different, nevertheless. I hope that we all remember the indomitable spirit that helped them survive on the peninsula. We hope that today we are wiser and more farsighted than they were, having rejected once and for all the fratricidal wars we fought for the sake of alien interests.

History commands us to be good neighbors, quite apart from the fact that we are linked with each other by ties of common Slavonic blood. Will we succeed in our efforts to achieve good-neighborly relations? Let us hope so!

The brief working visit paid by Colonel General Blagoje Adzic, chief of the General Staff of the SFRY Armed Forces, to our country, prompted us to write these few lines.

"I am glad to be here, in your beautiful country, for the first time," Colonel General Adzic said on arrival at Sofia airport. Accompanied by his wife and a group of officers, he was greeted by generals and officers of the Bulgarian People's Army General Staff. [passage omitted]

Minister of Defense Colonel General Ivan Mutafchiev received the Yugoslav guest and briefed him on the changes that have occurred in our country since 10 November 1989, on the influence that these changes are exerting on army life, on the training, and combat readiness of our troops. Bulgaria's consistent stand, based on principle, aimed at improving relations with its neighbors in the Balkans and our country's aspirations to maintain the Armed Forces and armaments at the level of reasonable sufficiency, was expressed. It was pointed out that the Bulgarian People's Army is and will be the guarantor of our country's national security without trying to become a threat for any neighbor country whatsoever. Colonel General Ivan Mutafchiev further pointed out:

"I am confident that the personal contacts between the heads of our general staffs represent a solid basis of cooperation between our two armies. We are ready to make even more decisive steps toward consolidating mutual confidence and cooperation between our two countries. I am deeply convinced that the traditional relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia are likely to create additional, favorable conditions for all-Balkan cooperation."

The minister of defense addressed an invitation to Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, to visit our country, whenever it would be convenient for him. [passage omitted]

Colonel General Blagoje Adzic was also received by Colonel General Radnyu Minchev, chief of the Bulgarian People's Army General Staff. [passage omitted] Colonel General Blagoje Adzic expressed his gratitude for the hospitality and for the invitation from the Bulgarian chief of staff. He briefed his hosts on the problems facing Yugoslavia and on the country's difficult political situation. Colonel General Blagoje Adzic pointed out that the Yugoslav Army plays an extremely important role as a stabilizing factor in this difficult period for the whole country. He stressed that Yugoslavia tries not to provoke its neighbors and that all military exercises taking place reach only as far as the national borders. [passage omitted]

A few minutes prior to his departure, Colonel General Blagoje Adzic stated: "I am very satisfied with my visit. It was very pleasant. I think that the visit was successful as a whole. We enjoyed your wonderful hospitality. We shall try to reciprocate on the occasion of our next meeting. In doing so we shall prove our good will. We hope that our cooperation will be even more successful as soon as we have overcome our internal difficulties. Then, our meetings will be even more effective.

I am neither a politician nor a statesman, but I am convinced that the Balkan states must unite in the name of Europe."

Colonel Radnyu Minchev, chief of the Bulgarian Army's General Staff, said: "This visit was and is undoubtedly a contribution to further improving fraternal relations between our two general staffs. Along with this, it represents a favorable prerequisite for improving relations between our two peoples. As a matter of fact, general staffs are structures whose influence extends beyond the armies.

"The visit of the Yugoslav delegation, albeit short, pursues the traditions of our mutual exchange of experience which should contribute to the further improvement of our bilateral relations at a higher level. Important issues were discussed on exchanging positive experience in military affairs. It is our common aspiration that the border between our two states may become a border of peace, understanding, comradeship, and friendship. Our meetings have not always proceeded as pleasantly as this last one—the atmosphere was warm and friendly, and we met like friends and dear guests, treating each other with mutual confidence and respect."

Report on Agricultural Agreement With U.S.

AU2210203090 Sofia BTA in English 1930 GMT 22 Oct 90

[Text] Washington, October 22 (BTA correspondent)—The U.S. Department of Agriculture and the Bulgarian Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry signed here an agreement under which the two countries will pursue and expand their economic, scientific, technological and commercial cooperation in farming, food-processing, the exchange of experts and trainees, as well as of agricultural and statistical information. Specific action-oriented efforts will be made to enhance the contacts not only between the government departments but also between the farming research institutes, the universities, the trade associations, private companies and individuals in the two countries.

A bilateral working group will be formed under the agreement to draft and supervise a specific plan for bilateral farming cooperation.

BSP, SDS Reach Agreement on Depoliticization

AU2310152390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] A meeting of the political consultative council took place on 23 October. It was chaired by Mr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic. Valentin Stoyanov, spokesman for the president, provides information about the meeting:

[Begin Stoyanov recording] The participants discussed the progress that has been made adopting various political issues related to the government program, as well as issues of the Grand National Assembly's legislative activity. The basic political forces again stressed that the council was not usurping the functions of the parliament, and that its work was of a consultative nature and aims at overcoming contradictions with a view to helping the parliamentary groups and the Grand National Assembly work faster on the basis of previously prepared materials.

Today's meeting took place in a constructive spirit. The representatives of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] proposed that the Presidency apparatus be included in the law on depoliticization, something which does not apply to the president and the vice president, whose status is regulated by a special article in the Constitution. The proposal did not meet with any serious objection, because it represents the end of a complete process whereby the monopoly of a certain party over power has been eliminated.

The Ministry of Internal affairs, the Ministry of International Affairs, the Army, the Chief Prosecutor's Office, and the apparatus of the Presidency will not serve the interests of a single party but will work for the national interest.

As far as the issue of sending a Bulgarian contingent to the Persian Gulf region is concerned, it was reported that contact groups are dealing with the issue and in the near future they will submit their position to parliament, which will then be voted on.

The issue of the government program was also discussed. It was agreed to establish a commission of the basic political forces in parliament to investigate the issue of guilt and responsibility for the crisis, party property, and the necessary political changes and guarantees that must be incorporated in the government's economic program.

The president instructed Aleksandur Tomov, Kostadin Yanchev, and Petur Beron to form the commission.

It appears that the discussion of the government economic program will begin at tomorrow's session of the Grand National Assembly, following the adoption of the law on depoliticization. This afternoon the parliamentary group of the basic political forces will be briefed on the talks conducted at the political consultative council. It was also decided to create an agency for distributing aid from abroad under the aegis of the president. The political parties, parliament, government, and Presidency will be represented in the agency. The issue arose because at least a part of the foreign aid received so far has been sold for foreign currency. The agency will direct, control, and coordinate the distribution of aid, without assuming the function of the executive power in this aspect, and under conditions of total openness and with the cooperation of all public forces. Its composition will be approved by the head of state and published in the press. [end recording]

Foreign Ministry TU Supports Depoliticization

AU2310203990 Sofia BTA in English 1927 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, October 23 (BTA)—The Independent Trade Union of the Employees of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs declares itself to be for the complete depoliticization of the people working within the system of the ministry, it is said in the declaration of the trade union leadership sent to the Grand National Assembly.

It is insisted to "guarantee and protect by a law of diplomacy the soonest possible" the professional interests of the employees of the ministry.

Tenev Claims Socialists Will Support Lukanov Plan

AU2310163890 Sofia BTA in English 1519 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 23 Oct (BTA)—According to the former minister of economy and planning, Ivan Tenev, the strategic goal of Premier Andrey Lukanov's programme is the replacement of a political-dictatorship-based economic system which has proved its unviability by modern market economy and contemporary political democracy. At today's news conference Mr. Tenev told journalists that he will support the programme because he approves its philosophy.

Most of the Socialist M.P.'s will support the Lukanov programme although it is very different from the election platform of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP). According to Stefan Stoilov, an M.P., they will do it because now they realize that the radical economic reform has no alternative, despite the inevitable decline of living standards.

Bulgarian society is reverting to the natural principles of development and each party should contribute to it, the BSP spokesman, Dimitur Yonchev, added. In his opinion it is not the programme but the "hard times" in which the BSP has got to administer the country that contributed to the drop of the Socialists' rating established by a recent public opinion poll.

Mr. Yonchev let it be understood that the publication of certain BSP documents is forthcoming; they have to do with the responsibility of top-ranking figures of the time of Todor Zhivkov's regime who are to be blamed for the present crisis. The process of taking them to task will not stop, he said.

Mr. Yonchev prognosticated that the rejection of Mr. Lukanov's proposal for a moratorium on social conflicts could give rise to cabinet crisis. The programme may fail, if the public opinion turns against it, the spokesman said.

Stoyu Dulev, an M.P. and economic expert of the BSP, is more optimistic. He is convinced that the Bulgarian people will support Mr. Lukanov's programme which defends the people's long-range interests at the cost of temporary privation.

At the news conference it was announced that there will be a state loan with 15 percent interest on the bonds as part of the measures for "expropriating the hot money," which would ease the inflationary pressure on the market.

The Socialist M.P.'s were unanimous in predicting that the Bulgarian parliament will resume its regular work in the middle of this week after "smoothing out the differences" between the ruling party and the opposition through summit level consultations.

Working Group Outlines Plans To Deal With Crisis

AU2310195590 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 21 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

[Evgeni Gavrilov report: "A Government Commission on Making Ends Meet—Chudomir Aleksandrov Is Ready to Work Miracles"]

[Text] Various companies have collected a total of $12 million which should be spent on the import of additional fuel oil for their needs. The majority of the aforementioned companies belong to the light-industry branch and are exporting goods abroad, but they can count on only half of the fuel they need within the upcoming months. It is possible that in view of the increasing power supply shortage, some of our production enterprises might start working during the night hours, so as to use the surplus electric power.

"In both cases we need strict organization in order to coordinate the interests of the different industrial branches. A special group in charge of the coordination, control, and operational solution of the emerging problems related to the country's energy and food supplies, and in charge of distributing material resources has been established under the Council of Ministers," Chudomir Aleksandrov, who is the leader of the group, declared.

To begin with, the production of medical drugs was considered as part of our chemical industry and received only 50 percent of the fuel oil required, Aleksandrov stated.

"However, this mistake was subsequently corrected, and our pharmaceutical enterprises will receive the total amount of required fuel," Aleksandrov further explained. "As a result of the new prices, the pharmaceutical plants became unprofitable. We had to react promptly and work out a proposal on reducing the turnover tax for these enterprises. The purpose of the measure was to cover the expenditures of the plants so as to prevent an increase in medical drugs prices while simultaneously protecting the economic interests of the producers," Chudomir Aleksandrov further pointed out.

According to the leaders of the aforementioned working group, letters of credit for $4-5 million for the import of medicines and of raw materials for their production are being prepared. Methods of increasing the production of bandages and dressing at the expense of other goods are being sought.

As far as the food supply problems are concerned, fodder is the crucial problem. It is possible that our domestic market may now be flooded with excessive quantities of meat from slaughtered animals, but this is dangerous because it means that we are going to suffer from meat shortage within the upcoming years. We still have no information whether the 100,000 tons of corn promised by the United States are already on their way to our country. Nevertheless, it is a fact that several thousand tons of fodder are stored in private farms. The state can propose stimulating prices for its purchase and thus contribute to the solution of the food shortage problem, considering that our real needs amount to 1.5 million tons.

The possibility exists that agricultural products may be exported in exchange for fodder imports, which is a normal practice in Aleksandrov's opinion. It is, however, preferable to trade goods which are more available than others. For the time being, however the available fodder supplies are barely sufficient to cover our needs until the end of next month.

As for foodstuff supplies for the population, the amounts which can be produced are comparable to those of 1989.

According to specialists who are members of the aforementioned working group, the market is hardly expected to improve in the near future because of the mass consumption psychosis that has emerged. Despite the fact that the production of basic foodstuffs has not diminished, goods are disappearing from the stores. For this purpose special food stores for owners of private companies, who so far purchased their goods from public stores, thus increasing the shortage of foodstuffs, are expected to open. The price ratio of various goods in the process of unfreezing prices will determine the extent of the crisis in the future.

Prices in our country should at least become equal to those in neighboring countries, the leader of the working group said. Otherwise no one would be capable of preventing the mass export of goods. The group does not intend to deal with illegal trade and will not duplicate the activities of various other departments which are engaged in this sphere. Deputy ministers from various ministries and representatives of some major economic associations and companies are participating in its work. The major task of the government group is to assist in the implementation of government decisions.

Government Discusses Budget, Bill on Religion

AU2310210690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] At its regular meeting the government discussed the proposal of the minister of finance on the changes that must be made to the state budget for the current year. The changes have been prompted mainly by the transformations in economic life, which emerged after the adoption of the budget at the beginning of 1990, and the necessity to balance the expenditure and revenue.

The changes in the budget, especially those dealing with expenditures, are related to the measures of the program for further democratization of society and the acceleration of the transition to a market economy. The updated draft will be submitted to the Grand National Assembly for discussion and adoption.

The government also discussed several other important bills. The bill on addenda to Economic Activity Decree No. 56 envisages barring certain categories of employees from state organs and offices and state and municipal companies, establishing citizen companies, and prohibiting such a category of employees from working in these companies.

A new bill on religion, submitted by the ministers of foreign affairs and justice was discussed. This bill corresponds to the process of democratization in our country. It guarantees total freedom of the believers to profess their religion, and the right of the religious organizations to implement their religious mission. The bill corresponds to our country's international commitments, ensuing from our participation in the agreements on human rights, and most of all, from the document that was adopted in 1989 in Vienna.

The government also adopted a bill on amendments and addenda to the Law on Foreign Travel Passports. The proposed changes contribute to turning the foreign passports of the Bulgarian citizens into true international documents. Passport procedures have been liberalized and exit visas have been abolished. Preconditions have been created for extending the validity of the passports and alleviating the Bulgarian citizens in obtaining those passports.

A bill on abolishing the Law on State and People's Control was also adopted.

The bills will be submitted to the Grand National Assembly for discussion and adoption.

Power Supply System Said Relatively Well Prepared

AU2310105990 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 20 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

[Evgeni Gavrilov article: "Amount of Mazut Reduced Three Times, Electricity Is Questionable, but Power Supply Gives Reason for Hope"]

[Text] The capacities of our power supply system having been repaired, we are relatively well prepared for the coming winter under the existing abnormal conditions, Georgi Khalchev, first deputy chairman of the Committee on Power Supply, said at a meeting with journalists on 19 October. Despite this, the system will function without any reserves.

Dimitur Sokolov, deputy chairman of the Committee on Power Supply, pointed out that, as a rule, the countries of the West European power supply system keep about 32 percent of their capacity as reserve.

Several alternative proposals for adjusting electric power prices have been submitted to the Council of Ministers. The scope of the increase has not yet been decided. It could be from 5.2 to nine stotinki per kilowatt. For the time being the power supply system is not profitable at all and a price increase is necessary if the system is to cover its losses, Georgi Khalachev said.

The situation with the supply of mazut is very critical. If on 1 October 1989 the country had 286,000 tonnes of mazut, by 1 October 1990 the amount was three times less. Georgi Khalachev expressed doubt whether enterprises that are supposed to receive the same amount of mazut as last year will actually receive it.

The total volume of our power supply system encompasses 11,500 megawatts. During the coming fall-winter season some 3,000 megawatts will not be used because of repairs or lack of resources.

In comparison with the first nine months of 1989, consumption of electric power has decreased 2.6 percent. At the same time there have been significant changes in its structure. The enterprises have reduced their consumption of electric power six percent, and the communal sector—3.5 percent. On the other hand, the use of electric power by the population has increased 5.6 percent.

Very little water is left in the reservoirs following the end of the irrigation season. Therefore, only 200-300 megawatts of the 2,000 megawatts of the hydroelectric power system will be used. As a result, the management of the power supply system will be deprived of the means of flexibility by which consumption during peak hours and the night can be regulated.

Only the power plants that use local coal have been supplied with sufficient raw material. Ways of importing some 300 million kilowatt/hour electric power from the Ukrainian power supply system are being sought.

According to the leadership of the Committee on Power Supply, it is impossible to give a firm "yes" or "no" to the question whether it will be warm and there will be sufficient light during the winter. There will be power shortages as a result of the obligatory stopping of certain capacities for inspections and preventive maintenance, as well as because of the inevitable accidents in some power plants.

In implementing decision No. 208 of the Council of Ministers a system for managing the use of electric and heat energy during the winter has been worked out. First of all, it envisages the reduction of electric power, received by the enterprises, by 10 percent in comparison with recent months. It is possible that the supply of electric power to certain enterprises will be discontinued. An exception will be made only for enterprises of the food industry and the agricultural enterprises.

Only when all other possibilities have been exhausted will the supply of electric power for the population be stopped. This will take place in accordance with a preannounced timetable. In anything related to heating based on mazut, it is possible that the heating in industrial and administrative buildings will be stopped. The heating for the population will be stopped only in extreme cases.

Dimitur Sokolov said that our country exchanges energy with 12 countries. This is a completely normal operation. During the current year we have exported 800 million kilowatt/hours and imported 4.5 billion kilowatt/hours electric power. Bulgaria has taken steps to join the West European power supply system. One of the preconditions, however,is that we have reserve power supply sources. For the time being we have none.

In the near future experts from the International Atomic Energy Agency will inspect the safety of the fifth reactor of the "Kozloduy" Nuclear Power Supply Plant.

Minister on Upcoming Rise in Fares, Freight Costs

AU2310214390 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 18 Oct 90 p 1

[Boris Gergov report]

[Text] Transport Minister Atanas Popov announced at a news conference on 17 October that, with the exception of railroad transportation, freight charges will be based on a contractual basis.

The tariff for freight transportation must cover at least 90 percent of the costs, while the price of passenger tickets must cover the full costs. The minister said that the present tariffs do not even pay for the gasoline used.

The new prices for passenger trips will probably come into force on 1 January, following a Council of Ministers decree. Travel for school students and the socially deprived will be cheaper, because the difference will be paid out of the budget and the social funds. Companies and enterprises will have to make contributions to help pay for workmen's travel.

Minister Popov announced that at present there are some Bulgarians who have traveled abroad by public transportation up to 40 times. The foreign currency costs of these journeys are subsidized by the state.

No major deterioration is expected before the end of the year in sea, rail, and air transportation. Minister Popov added that agreement had been reached with the Soviet Union that there would be no deterioration in the transportation of raw and other materials from the USSR.

The production of railroad passenger cars in Bulgaria will rise from 80 to 120-140 units. The possibility is being investigated of purchasing locomotives, railroad cars and wagons, and buses from the fleets of the former GDR.

The site for the new Sofia airport has not yet been decided, because the previous design projects did not take ecological considerations into account.

A proposal will be made to introduce tolls on freeways. In answer to a question whether the existing domestic air routes will remain, the minister said that this will depend on the possibilities of the companies securing fuel supplies.

Privatization of transportation lies ahead, and this will begin first with road transportation. The ministry has set up a group for this purpose. The ports in Ruse, Burgas, Varna, and Lom will be converted into joint stock companies. The subsidiary companies in civil aviation also face the same process. A chamber of transportation, which will hold auctions of transport services, will be set up before the end of the year.

Minister Popov also announced that an agreement exists with the World Bank for the latter to assist in the reorganization of the Bulgarian railways.

Chemical Warfare Troops To Continue Functioning

AU2310112890 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 19 Oct 90 p 2

[Interview with "Officer Tsvetkov, head of administration in the unit in which Officer Panayotov serves," by Senior Lieutenant Petyo Kostadinov; place and date not given: "Chemical Troops Do Not Face 'Pensioning'"; first paragraph is NARODNA ARMIYA introduction]

[Excerpts] A young, vital, and pleasant looking officer met me at the office's door. He still did not wear the recent senior officer's rank he received. Frankly, I was pleasantly surprised by the fact that a commander with such a rank was able within a few minutes to eliminate the distance between us and develop a frank and friendly conversation.

[Kostadinov] Can we talk about a "new wave" in the central organs of the military management?

[Tsvetkov] Yes, some people say that I am a representative of the "new wave." In the administration there are officers with longer service than I and with higher ranks. However, this did not cause any shocks and confrontations. Disputed issues emerged only in connection with the interest of the Army. Therefore, we think together before we adopt decisions.

[Kostadinov] In this sense, how did you assess the implementation of the specific plans of the chemical warfare troops during the last training year?

[Tsvetkov] I would say that significant results were achieved in implementing the tasks of combat training. The standard work of the units was eliminated with a view to using them in several directions. A new approach was mandatory. [passage omitted]

[Kostadinov] During an inspection I heard from foreign military specialists many kind words about the automation in the chemical warfare troops. What is the real situation?

[Tsvetkov] We really have software for all units of the troops. The only difficulty is related to supplying the troops at all levels with reliable calculating and multiplying equipment.

We regularly conduct training with the means we have at our disposal and we believe that this is the road we must follow. However, until sufficient and reliable equipment is supplied and the level of troops' training improved, this issue will be resolved with great difficulty.

[Kostadinov] Finally, against the background of the international tendencies, are you optimistic about the future of the chemical warfare troops?

[Tsvetkov] I am often confronted with this question. Let us look soberly at the situation. According to the most optimistic forecasts in the West, in the next 20 to 30 years the chemical weapons will remain one of the decisive factors in combat activities. Even if the arsenals of chemical weapons are destroyed, modern chemical industry can produce anything it wants within hours, simply because a significant part of the combat poison substances and the raw materials needed for their production also are raw materials for peaceful production. In addition, at least in the near future, there will always be countries such as Iraq, which will threaten close and distant countries with the use of mass destruction chemical weapons.

The chemical warfare troops must also resolve other tasks. Therefore, we intensify the multiple-goal-oriented approach in training the chemical warfare troops.

Radiation Effects Discussed at News Conference

AU2210205390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 22 Oct 90

[Text] The leadership of the National Program for the Protection of the Population Against Radiation gave a news conference today which was devoted to problems of the population's protection against the effects of radiation in connection with the existence of nuclear power plants in our country. It was announced that the investigation into the results of the Chernobyl accident affecting our country and into those responsible for them has been completed and a trial is envisaged in the near future.

It was further reported at the news conference that the results of the radiation tests conducted at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant have been published and that this plant does not represent any immediate danger either for our own population, or for Romania. It was, however, pointed out that radioactive fallout is a serious problem and that the conditions under which the people in the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant work and live are a cause for concern.

The requirement of establishing a uniform system for the population's protection against the effects of radiation which should join together the efforts of all departments engaged in the solution of such problems was stressed.

On this occasion the representatives of the mass media were informed about the stand of Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov who shares the principle on the priority of ecological and humanitarian values prevailing over economic interests in connection with the population's protection against radiation effects. The premier confirmed the government's readiness to wholeheartedly accept the evaluations of competent experts and recommended following the instructions of the International Atomic Energy Agency, even if they should require decisions involving extremely negative consequences for the country's energy supply.

Ivaylo Trifonov, head of the president's office, also attended the news conference. He announced that the president of the Republic intends to appoint a nongovernmental experts' commission in charge of fully assessing the state of our comprehensive nuclear energy installations.

Fight at Democratic Constitution Party Meeting

AU2310210790 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 18 Oct 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Paid Announcement"]

[Text] The Administrative Council of the Bulgarian Democratic Constitutional Party informs all the Bulgarian mass media that on 13 October, at a meeting of expelled party members held in the party's club in Sofia, Father Dimitur Nonchev Ambarev of Plovdiv, in the presence of more than 20 persons, severely beat Simeon Blagoev, chairman of the party's Sofia organization and member of the Administrative Council. Evidence has been collected about the incident, and Simeon Blagoev will institute legal proceedings against the perpetrator. Because of their passive conduct during the incident, several of the party members present will be expelled from the party under Article 5 of the party's statute. We request all the mass media to bring the incident to the attention of the Bulgarian public.

Results of Parties' Popularity Poll Analyzed

AU2210093590 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 18 Oct 90 p 1

[Captain Ivan Genov commentary: "Data, Events, People"]

[Text] It is impossible to say that the results of the October public opinion poll, related to the popularity of political leaders and organizations and to the political trends, were surprising. Even before we saw the charts and tables, one could sense the decreasing popularity of the leading party, the opposition's upsurge, the growing political apathy of the voters, and the obvious dissatisfaction with the parliament's work. The by-elections in Velingrad precisely reflected those trends and the poll merely demonstrated their nationwide scope, something that provides the opportunity to make several conclusions and forecasts.

The drop in the confidence toward the party that won the June elections, which decreased almost by one half, is a result not only of the unenviable socioeconomic situation in the country, but also a result of the still insufficient categorical evidence of any radical renewal in the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], even after its 39th Congress. This predetermines to a certain extent the results of the forthcoming municipal elections, however, if the "cruel program" of the government meets with initial success, it is possible that the rating of the BSP will increase.

For the first time since its establishment, the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] leads the ratings. For the time being the greater part of the progressively decreasing number of the politically active voters support the SDS, however, the question whether the strategy and tactics of the SDS, namely, to be an opposition in everything and everywhere, would not backfire, still remains....

There is a growing tendency to form a political center and gradually overcome the uncompromising polarization. Almost 10 percent of the voters support extraparliamentary parties.

The people who are satisfied with the parliament's work are five times fewer than those who are satisfied with it. The rating is harsh but just. It is the parliamentarians themselves who should draw their conclusions in this area.

The president and the Presidency lead the ratings of political leaders and institutions. The great part of the voters see them as a real guarantee of overcoming the party quarrels and consolidating the nation's efforts to overcome the crisis. I think that what contributed to the president's popularity was not so much his unprecedented visit abroad as his firm engagement with the idea of establishing a government of national consensus. It is from this point of view that one should view the decreasing popularity of Premier Andrey Lukanov. However, this situation could change as a result of the intensifying discussion related to the second great idea of the president—sending a limited contingent of Bulgarian troops to the Persian Gulf region. In addition, every step in implementing the governmental program could be decisive for the new-old premier.

We should hardly dramatize the fact that the Bulgarian People's Army lost its position as the state institution with the highest popularity. On the contrary, perhaps this is one of the first harbingers of the fact that the public is beginning to understand that in a democratic, parliamentary, and law-abiding state the Army is not the cure for every ill.

Some organizations and leaders, such as Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] leader Medi Doganov [Ahmed Dogan] still have an unclear status. Their clear lack of popularity among the voters is probably related to the increased tension on ethnic-religious grounds in certain regions of the country.

As a whole the poll's results show a gradual reorientation of society from total confrontation to seeking points of contact. Whether this process will accelerate depends on the efficiency of the work of the parliament and government, and on the further all-nation initiatives of the Presidency and each of us. It would be absurd to believe that we could cope with the tests that lie ahead if we remain disunited.

'Ilinden' Organization Seeks Legal Registration

AU2210123690 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 20 Oct 90 p 2

[Evgeni Ivanov report: "'Ilinden' Appeals to Court"]

[Text] On 19 October the Supreme Court reviewed the appeal of the "Ilinden" United Macedonian Organization, prompted by the refusal of the Blagoevgrad Okrug Court to register it.

During the hearing, "Ilinden" Chairman Yordan Kostadinov protested against the fact that various neofascist organizations have been allowed to register, while "Ilinden," which has a cultural-educational character, has been denied registration. He said that he organization was the continuer of the Macedonian people's struggle for freedom, and its goal was to lead the Macedonian people out of the stress situation in which they find themselves. He demanded that the existence of the Macedonian minority in Bulgaria is recognized. In an attempt to prove his claim Kostadinov made a brief historical review and condemned all political parties which do not recognize the existence of the Macedonian minority.

He also said that his organization will not cease its efforts, and will turn to an international court.

Atanas Kiryakov, spokesman for the "Ilinden" United Macedonian Organization, submitted his previously written statement, in which he pointed out that the Blagoevgrad Okrug Court has falsified its decision.

According to the spokesman, the Macedonians will not be subjugated to either Bulgarian or Serbian supremacy. They will struggle for the establishment of a united Macedonian organization which will not be subjugated to anyone, because, according to him, it was older than the Kingdom of Judea.

After the statements of the two "Ilinden" leaders the prosecutor demanded the appeal be rejected, because otherwise an organization that works to violate Bulgaria's sovereignty and territorial integrity will be recognized de facto. He categorically demanded that the case be discontinued.

The court will publish its position on the appeal.

G. Filipov, D. Stoyanov Removal From BSP Noted

AU2310191390 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 21 Oct 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Former Leaders Have No Party Affiliation"]

[Text] Grisha Filipov and Dimitur Stoyanov are not members of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] since April and June 1990, respectively. This was established at yesterday's conference of the "Oborishte" Municipal Party Organization in Sofia. The conference elected an entirely new leadership of the BSP organization in the Oborishte Municipality.

During the debates the delegates sharply raised the question of party membership in the case of five other former party figures who had disgraced themselves during the period prior to 10 November 1989 and had occupied high-ranking posts in the Bulgarian Communist Party and in the state administration. The conference categorically insisted that the question of their party status should be definitely resolved within the coming month.

DEMOKRATSIYA Protests Cut in Newsprint

AU2310204990 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 15 Oct 90 p 1

[Unattributed editorial: "Andrey Lukanov's 'Supraparty' Government Wants To Close Down DEMOKRATSIYA"]

[Text] "I said that our economic policy was ruinous even before 10 November 1989, but for understandable reasons these ideas of mine failed to reach the public at large. At that time we had no DEMOKRATSIYA newspaper, you know." This was Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov's reply to a question asked at the news conference on 11 October.

On the same day, the editors of DEMOKRATSIYA received a letter from the Main Administration for the Press and Book Publishing under the Council of Ministers, signed by its chief Mr. Slav Todorov. The letter states:

"The continuing shortage of newsprint, the limited supplies, the excessive consumption until now, and the minimum stocks held in the country make it necessary to fix quotas for the newsprint used by your newspaper during the fourth quarter of this year.

In accordance with Council of Ministers Decree No. 149 and the actual stocks, you are allocated a quota of 172.3 tonnes of newsprint for use until the end of the year...."

If this "quota" is maintained, this will mean that beginning on 1 November 1990 DEMOKRATSIYA will be closed down (although according to the public opinion poll reported below it is the most popular newspaper).

We will accept this measure as fair only on the condition that on the same date DUMA, and the dozens of other central and local publications of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, cease to appear!

However, according to the information which has reached us, the government has provided sufficient paper for them (as well as for their numerous hangers-on, masquerading under the guise of "independence") Moreover, not only are there no plans for their closure or for any reduction in their circulations, but some of them are even increasing their print runs.

We wish to remind Mr. Lukanov of the following:

1. This is October 1990, not October 1989.

2. The DEMOKRATSIYA newspaper is a daily of the Union of Democratic Forces, and any encroachment upon it is an encroachment on the united opposition in Bulgaria, and as such may lead to unforeseeable consequences, for which the government led by Mr. Lukanov will bear the responsibility.

We hope that the government will stop representing itself as merely a supraparty government, and will start also to act as one, which means that it will also be a supra-newsprint government.

Liberal Democratic Party's Koshev on Party's Base

AU2310105490 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 19 Oct 90 p 4

[Interview with Veselin Koshev, chairman of the Bulgarian-Liberal Democratic Party, by Rumyana Simeonova; place and date not given: "Let Us Not Be Only Guests in the All-European Home"; first paragraph is DUMA introduction]

[Excerpts] The Bulgarian-Liberal Democratic Party is the legitimate successor of the Bulgarian liberal and democratic parties and movements of the past which were headed by Stefan Stambolov and Dimitur Petkov. The present party was established by a group of scientists, scholars, lawyers, linguists, and students in Sofia on 10 December 1989. It is chaired by Mr. Veselin Koshev, a linguist who is proficient in German, French, and Russian. Apart from the headquarters in Sofia, the party has local organizations in Ruse, Plovdiv, Pazardzhik, Burgas, Vidin, and other towns. The party adheres to the basic principles of liberalism, such as freedom of the individual—namely intellectual, economic, and political freedom—a sense of responsibility, tolerance, and the spirit of enterprise.

[Simeonova] Mr. Koshev, what justifies your conviction that your party represents the Bulgarian middle class intelligentsia?

[Koshev] Our chief supporters on whom we rely are individualists, people who aspire for their own creative freedom both in their professional and social life. We rely on the energies and efforts of enterprising individuals who have confirmed their striving for independence, who are always ready to take a sensible risk, and who are pursuing their ambitions with honest methods. [passage omitted]

[Simeonova] Can you describe some of your positive achievements?

[Koshev] The first meeting of Bulgarian opposition forces was convened in Plovdiv, in March 1990, at our initiative. We tried to rally all parties, movements, and political currents in a vast opposition alliance, however, we did not meet any understanding, despite the fact that a declaration for coordinated action was signed. Following the elections, the political opposition block to which we belonged was disbanded, after which we established the Liberal Union. In addition to our party, the union includes the Party of Free Democrats and the Party of Freedom and Progress. [passage omitted]

[Simeonova] How do you assess the present political and economic situation?

[Koshev] I am convinced that democracy is not an instantaneous act, but a prolonged and complicated process. We simply cannot overtax our strength by reaching for the impossible. Democracy is something like a chemical process which is subject to certain natural laws. It would be better to stop experimenting, and to assess all circumstances and all our intentions in advance with patience and calm. We shall support all initiatives of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] also in the future and we shall seek contact with them, as long as their actions are in accordance with our liberal principles.

We are convinced that people, inspired by the democratic and liberal ideas of our epoch, exist also in the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]. Nevertheless, the future will show to what extent such ideas prevail within the party. This is the crucial problem of its survival, I think. [passage omitted]

[Simeonova] You just returned from the 31st Congress of the Liberal International in Helsinki. What were your main impressions, and which results of the congress did you consider the most useful and important for your party? What was the attitude toward Bulgaria and toward the development of liberalism in our country?

[Koshev] We had interesting meetings with more than 40 chairmen of liberal parties from all over the world. We met interesting personalities. The congress adopted several resolutions and documents related to the freedom of the individual, to the struggle against dictatorship, and to the violation of political rights in certain countries. The main ideas that were discussed, however, dealt with worldwide ecological problems. I must admit that I was most favorably impressed with the general atmosphere of good manners and civilized relations which prevailed at the congress. As a matter of fact, those people live in a different world, in a world ruled by law and order, and their most important asset is the ecology of their souls, so to speak. I am confident that things will change for the better also in our country, in due time, and that we should patiently await these improvements. Let us learn not only hatred and anger from the past, but also something more useful for our common future.

[Simeonova] As far as I understood, you are preparing for intensive international activities?

[Koshev] Yes, we are invited to attend a seminar of the "Friedrich Naumann" Foundation in Bonn, at the beginning of November 1990. In December 1990 we are expected to attend a congress of Soviet liberal and democratic parties in Moscow. We have an invitation to attend a seminar in Spain chaired by Adolfo Suarez, chairman of the Liberal International. We would like to organize an international meeting in Bulgaria next year with the participation of the Naumann Foundation. I think that all this shows the international interest and attention for the propagation of liberal ideas in our country.

[Simeonova] What is the motto of your party?

[Koshev] That we should not be only guests in the All-European home. We must try hard to deserve our place among the civilized nations of Europe and the world!

Suspension of Christian Democratic Daily Explained

AU2310212290 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
18 Oct 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Further About First Seizure of Newspaper"]

[Text] The other side has intervened in the dispute over the first newspaper shut down in Bulgaria. The DUMA editorial board has received a declaration signed by Mr. Georgi Tsenov, who on 4 October seized the latest issue of KHRISTIANDEMOKRATSIYA from the newsstands. Like the newspaper's editor Georgi Gelemenov, he also claims to hold the chairman's post in the Bulgarian Christian Democratic Party (Center).

The document sent to DUMA mentions an extraordinary congress of the Bulgarian Christian Democratic Party (Center) held on 1 October. It is claimed that this congress expelled Mr. Georgi Gelemenov from the party's Administrative Council and approved Mr. Georgi Tsenov as chairman.

Information completely to the contrary is contained inside a box under the masthead of the suppressed issue of KHRISTIANDEMOKRATSIYA. This mentions the same date of 1 October, but refers to a general meeting of the Bulgarian Christian Democratic Party (Center), which expelled Mr. Georgi Tsenov from the party's ranks and elected Mr. Georgi Gelemenov in his place.

Both the claimants to the post of leader submit documents and claim that the other's documents are counterfeited.

However, it must be pointed out that the authors of the mentioned declaration, which carries the signatures of Mr. Tsenov and Mr. Ventsislav Yanev, categorically dissociate themselves from the insults and rude attacks on a number of well-known political figures published in the last suppressed issue of KHRISTIANDEMOKRATSIYA. They describe the attacks as "a gross breach of all political and journalistic ethics, with the aim of increasing tension in the country and inciting civil war."

The document declares that "the leadership of the Bulgarian Christian Democratic Party (Center) will fight by all legal and democratic means against any attempts to provoke confrontation between the party and the political forces in the country, and will make every effort to ensure that the party takes its worthy place in our political life."

In the final analysis, it remains uncertain who the leader of the Bulgarian Christian Democratic Party is and who controls the KHRISTIANDEMOKRATSIYA daily.

Writer Georgi Markov's Murder Under Investigation

AU2310203590 Sofia BTA in English 1955 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 23 Oct (BTA)—Kosta Bogatsevski, spokesman for the Prosecuting Magistracy, this evening announced on television that on October 19 the Bulgarian authorities opened a preliminary inquest of Georgi Markov's death. The inquest is held in accordance with the text in the Bulgarian Criminal Code that contains provisions for murder committed by unknown perpetrator.

Markov died in London in 1978 in suspicious circumstances and the so-called "Bulgarian umbrella" version has not been disproved yet. "He was murdered according to a carefully premeditated plan," his wife, Ms. Anabel Markova, stated. Last night she reproached the Bulgarian authorities of being unwilling to cooperate in clarifying the circumstances surrounding the death of the emigrant writer and of showing no interest in the case. This evening Mr. Bogatsevski stated that the Bulgarian authorities will do their best to throw light on the case. He recalled that in 1978 the Bulgarian authorities had offered their services to Scotland Yard, but their offer had been declined. In June this year two Bulgarians were sent to London in connection with the case. Ms. Markova was not interrogated as there was no preliminary inquest opened at that time.

Mr. Bogatsevski's television interview coincides with the recent publication of double agent Oleg Gordievski's book in London in which the blame for Markov's murder is laid at the door of KGB. Tomorrow the Bulgarian Television will air an interview with Mr. Gordievski.

Government Criticized for Lack of 'Transparence'

AU2410093590 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 20 Oct 90 p 2

[Marcela Pechackova commentary: "Closed-Door Policy?"]

[Text] The weekend's election of Vaclav Klaus as chairman of the strongest political "party"—the Civic Forum—marked only the beginning of an exciting week full of surprising reversals. The "politician of an explosive mixture," as we called him, won by a clear majority of votes. His election was a victory for energetic policy. During their lunch in the "U Schnellu" restaurant, Vaclav Klaus and Vaclav Havel then demonstrated symbolically, before photographers' lenses, their unanimity of views, as has become customary. Meanwhile, completely different things were going on.

At a time when Czechoslovakia played host to Dieter Wellershof, general inspector of the Bundeswehr, and a day after President Vaclav Havel expressed his confidence and support for Minister Vacek, Vacek's strategic ministerial seat suddenly became vacant. The explanation came only the following day: The (not overly convincing) reason for the minister's immediate dismissal supposedly rested in the not at all surprising facts about [the Army's activities immediately after] 17 November. We, however, already have a new minister, Lubos Dobrovsky, who learned about his appointment, and accepted it, shortly after his arrival from Warsaw.

Does this indicate haste, chaos, and mystery? Or are we witnesses to well-considered moves behind the scenes that do not tolerate the light of open information?

On Thursday [18 October] the Federal Government held a session. At the subsequent news conference, journalists were told about all kinds of things: the funding of railroads, BBC broadcasts, that Premier Calfa still has not received an invitation to the Soviet Union.... Yet one, by no means unimportant, piece of information was reported only by LIDOVE NOVINY (even the CTK correspondent was not allowed to learn the news): that this very same government session recalled two deputy federal ministers of interior—Andrej Samel and Miroslav Kral—from their posts. No reasons were given. And there was yet another piece of news—Minister Langos is reorganizing his office and abolishing the intelligence service with some 600 employees. At the same time, the news leaked from Slovakia that Minister Milan Knazko is establishing anew precisely such an intelligence service.

Presidential spokesman Michael Zantovsky recently said, referring to the Civic Forum program, that the Civic Forum should "make transparent" its intentions and its policy. Let the government and the president therefore be told that it is they who should "make transparent" their own policy and prevent confusion and the suppression of substantial facts, because this only generates chaos, nervousness, and new misunderstandings.

Collective Guilt of Former Communists Rejected

LD2310180790 Prague CTK in English 1712 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 23 (CTK)—Asked by CTK about their opinion on indiscriminate removal of current or former communists, even those expelled from the party after the 1968 Soviet invasion, from significant functions, representatives of all Czechoslovak political parties represented in the Federal Assembly (Parliament) rejected it.

Deputy Chairman of the Slovak National Party Jozef Horsky said that no party can be denied participation in the management of a state. But some totalitarian and centralist expressions of the current policy of the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence (the strongest political forces) are influenced by former communist prominent persons, including Federal Premier Marian Calfa and Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier (Calfa withdrew from the party only after the November 1989 revolution, Dienstbier was expelled from the Communist Party in 1969 and was imprisoned for dissident activities by the former regime for three years).

A Democratic Party deputy (active only in Slovakia) underlined the significance of liquidating the old nomenclature in the economic sphere. This must be carried out regardless of party affiliation, he added.

Press spokesman for the Movement for Autonomous Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia Zdenek Vyhlidal said that it is necessary to distinguish between the communists who tried to dismantle the communist system before and during the so-called Prague Spring revival movement in 1968, and those who withdrew from the party only after the "velvet" revolution in November 1989. He said that this does not concern Premier Calfa who "played a significant role in the defeat of the totalitarian communist regime."

Civic Forum press spokesman Vladimir Zelezny rejected opinions of a "more radical part of society" which calls for "special treatment of everybody who was a Communist Party member even only for a day." This does not mean that the Civic Forum abandons its irreconcilable attitude towards the communist ideology and totalitarian regime.

Member of the Slovak Public Against Violence movement leadership Peter Tatar said that demands for the removal of both the current and former communists represent only a "minority opinion" with which the movement does not agree.

Chairman of the Slovak Communist Party Peter Weiss said that the demands for the removal of all communists would result in a still more extensive "professional genocide" than after the screening in 1970 (some

500,000 persons were then expelled from the Communist Party and lost their jobs). Such a procedure would open the door for political racism, civil cold war and would harm Czechoslovakia's credit in the world, he said.

Former Communist Leader on Communist Regime Fall

AU2310181390 Prague CTK in English 1835 GMT 19 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 19 (CTK)—Member of the top communist leadership of the former regime in Czechoslovakia Miroslav Stepan, 45, wondered today "how the former political system could survive for such a long time."

In an interview for CTK, Stepan said that many former leading representatives of the defeated regime, with whom he met recently, do not acknowledge their responsibility for the past, and said that they were "sterile" in accepting new stimuli and that they were incapable policy-makers.

Stepan was sentenced to four years imprisonment for abusing the powers of a public official on 9 July 1990. After appealing against the sentence, he was released from jail on 16 July. Appeal proceedings started on 25 September and the trial was postponed until October.

He said the communist movement gave a chance to rather average persons and the Czechoslovak Communist Party leadership often included persons "with substandard, unprofessional, superficial and irresponsible" attitudes. He added he was astonished that no tragedy occurred after last 17 November, (the downfall of the communist regime), with so many responsible officials in communist party and state functions having such unprofessional and superficial approaches. In this context Stepan alleged that in the capacity of communist party chief of Prague he was involved in the withdrawal of units of the People's Militias (the party's armed units), transferred to Prague to be used against mass demonstrations calling for an end to one-party rule.

Stepan did not rule out that there were officials in the Communist Party itself, who had contacts with security bodies which organized the brutal action against a student demonstration on 17 November 1989 as a pretext for replacing the then party leadership by other people. He believed, however, that this applied to lower-rank officials who "might have had some friend in the Presidium" (the then supreme body of the Communist Party and the state), whom Stepan did not specify.

[Prague CTK in English at 1646 GMT on 22 October in a similar report adds: "Today, the Prague Municipal Court found Miroslav Stepan, 45, the former Prague City Communist Party chief secretary, guilty of having abused the powers of a public official and sentenced him to two and a half years in prison.

"On 28 October 1988 Stepan ordered that water cannons and teargas grenades be used against demonstrators in prague.

"Stepan, a Communist Party Presidium member in 1988-89, was expelled from the party in December 1989."]

Demonstrating Farmers Meet President Havel

AU2310171790 Prague CTK in English 2042 GMT 19 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 19 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel told a farmers' protest demonstration here today that he will do his utmost for agriculture not be overshadowed at the legislative and executive level by the industry and the other economic branches.

He stressed the necessity of working out a clear economic policy for farming and relevant legislation so that the huge process of transformation of the Czechoslovak economy embrace also the countryside.

The demonstration was sponsored by the Council of the Czech and Moravian Countryside as an expression of dissatisfaction with the constant postponement of questions related to the countryside and farming by the political leadership of Czechoslovakia.

Czech Minister of Agriculture Bohumil Kubat stressed the necessity for a quick solution to problems related to reprivatization and privatization in farming, and called for a quick rehabilitation of the farmers harmed by forced collectivization in the 1950's and 1960's.

These questions were also included in a petition adopted by the demonstrators who also demand that President Vaclav Havel appoint his adviser for the countryside.

State farms and agricultural cooperatives now cultivate 97 percent of arable land in Czechoslovakia. There are only few private farmers, especially in mountainous regions.

Agriculture employs 11 percent of the workforce and practically covers the country's food consumption. The biggest shortcomings are low effectiveness of production and negative impacts on the environment (excessive chemization).

Grain hectare yields are close to those in advanced Western countries.

Czech Premier Interviewed on Government, Moravia

LD2310232190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1800 GMT 23 Oct 90

["Regular" interview with Czech Premier Dr. Petr Pithart, by unidentified correspondent on 23 October; place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Mr. Premier, the abolition of two ministries clearly signals the intention to fundamentally change the structure of the government and also its function.

[Pithart] You are right. The memorable term, old structure, has two meanings. In this sense the old structure is represented by a Comrade Vonasko, who was a member of the People's Militia, or maybe also by a Comrade Houzvicka, who gained the university title of the doctor of the beloved party only because he was a party member. We have already been dealing with these old structures for several months.

In my view, the old structure means something else, something much more important and dangerous. The old structure is in essence equivalent to old establishments or authorities. It is something reminiscent of a system of relations, rules, and habits. It is something that is powerful and that possesses a momentum of inertia. When a new person or, say, a new structure joins this old structure he is frequently surprised at how little he is able to change. For example, just take a look at the lengthy abolition of the old structure of the Interior Ministry. What the Czech government has done is a true abolition of the old structures of a deeper and much more significant importance.

The industrial ministries represent typical old structures. The Czech government has decided to abolish two of them in the meantime, but vis-a-vis the public it stated—so that it would prove its credibility—that this is just the first step and that other steps would follow. The industrial ministries serve no purpose in the market economy. The question is whether they should be abolished today, tomorrow, or the day after tomorrow. We have decided not to delay and to start already today.

The government should be substiantially reduced in some 12-18 months, both in terms of the number of ministries and in terms of ministerial officials. This measure alone will rid us of 900 ministerial officials. We assume that of the 900 of them, less than one-third will be transferred to the Ministry of Industry, but even this ministry will lose its purpose in time.

It is extraordinary, but our conduct is a bit of an antidote in comparison with the Slovak government, where, in the meantime, the number of ministries is rising. In addition they have six government committees. The Czech government has decided—and has stated this publicly, too, so that it would assert its credibility—that it will set up no committees, apart from a committee for the physically handicapped. We believe that the committees have been providing and continue to provide a camouflage, a Potemkin village, and a showpiece. If all ministers execute their tasks the committees are ssuperfluous.

After that, the role of the government should concentrate on one thing: People themselves, as far as possible, should solve their problems. The government should not solve them and must not solve them. Its responsibility, however, does not end in this statement. The government must create conditions for people to solve their problems according to clear rules in order to arrive at unequivocal decisions. A good government in a democratic society is a government which governs as little as possible.

Let us now proceed from the problems of the government to the Movement for Moravia and Silesia which, in Kromeriz, submitted more demands on solving the territorial arrangement of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia. At the same time, however, certain aspects arose, more of a political than stateforming nature. There is not doubt that the 20 October meetings of the Moravians and the Silesians represented a significant event in the brief history of their movement.

The movement of self-administered democracy is not the only political force which is undergoing crisis. How else can we term the fact that 28 out of 32 deputies distanced themselves from the assembly by leaving the discussion hall? Those present, who themselves proposed these deputies, refer to them, only a few months after the elections, as a new center of power which is illegal. At the same time these deputies, at least those from the Czech National Council, are fighting so vehemently for what they term the interests of Moravia that when the highest legislative body of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia voted on the bill on self-administration of towns and villages—which in my opinion forms the basis of all self-administration, that is also administration of Moravia—they voted against because they were unhappy that this bill does not solve the problem of Moravia. They voted against themselves, I would say, but that is a matter of their conscience.

If even these deputies feel the need to distance themselves from the assembly, there must be some kind of a big problem, a more general problem. I suspect what the problem is. Of course, it is beyond all comparison, but Civic Forum [OF] itself is facing a similar problem. The Moravians and Silesians, gathered in Kromeriz, refer to themselves directly as a movement, not a party. Civic Forum, too, is still rather a movement than anything else. Today, when all parties are seething with powerful activity, we will probably not be able to do without a certain system, firm rules, simply without the rules of party life. What happened in Kromeriz would not have happened in a well-organized party.

[Correspondent] Nevertheless, we should not stop at pure politics. The problem of Moravia remains with us....

[Pithart, interrupting] Yes, and I would be happy if we were not misled by cheap attacks at some statements which were heard at Kromeriz. I have in mind, for example, exclamations about the Moravian nation or even Moravian state. It even happened at the Czech National Council that one deputy issued a threat. He said that if we continue to be indifferent to the problems of Moravia, they will have a nation in half a year. But that would be concentrating on the nonessentials. The problem of land administration truly exists, but it is not only a problem of land administration of Moravia and Silesia.

There indeed exists between central organs of state administration—that is between the government and ministries, between self-administration towns and villages and between district offices—a considerable gap that has to be filled. The question is with what. The question thus is about what type of land administration system. And on this issue the movement for a self-administrated Moravia and Silesia has said only very little. It has not given to the public or to experts any opportunity to weigh up various alternatives between which we will have to decide very soon. Who? The Czech National Council—I say this again resolutely. The government is being blamed quite unjustifiably. The government cannot in any way slow down the debate on the bill on the land administration system in the Czech National Council, and it does not intend to do this either. A bill on the land administration can be summitted by the government, and also by a group of deputies. Moravian and Silesian deputies have done this: They have submitted a draft which is ready to be discussed in the Czech National Council. The government cannot and does not want to influence the decision of the Czech National Council. It is ready with its experts to prepare or amend this or that draft. What has the government done so far?

As the Movement for Moravia and Silesia has long been using strong language and has been adhering to one proposal for land administration, the government has set up a committee. A short while ago I said that the government does not and would not set up committees. This is a committee which has only one task and when it completes it—in six weeks at the latest—then the committee will be abolished. The committee for land administration is not here to weigh individual alternatives—they have not been formulated yet—it is to clarify the entire problem. It is to guarantee that when various alternatives are put forward the land administration system will be discussed in a purely businesslike manner. So far every one envisages something different under this term, and only a very few people are willing to define what it is they do envisage. The committee does not weigh these alternatives, as MLADA FRONTA wrote yesterday, the committee identifies them. A referendum is being mentioned. The referendum would be unthinkable if there are no clear alternatives for citizens to choose between. This is what the government has done.

When we met at the session of three governments in Kromeriz with reresentatives of the Moravian and Silesian movement, Mr. Deputy Barta complained to the president that by setting up this committee the government had blocked discussions in the Czech National Council. This is a very ill- informed claim coming from a deputy of our representative body. We have not stopped anything by setting up this committee; on the contrary, I believe that we have made matters clearer.

At the assembly in Kromeriz one could hear things like: Moravia is everything for us. The Civic Forum, true, has nothing which would be everything for it. It puts the greatest emphasis on the values of citizenship, on that which is common to all of us in Europe. Here certain differences of emphasis may exist between Moravians and Silesians on one side, and the Civic Forum on the other. But, in my opinion, they do not threaten the coalition. We care very much about the coalition and I hope that the movement for self-administered democracy, the Society for Moravia and Silesia, will weigh up once more the proposal put forward in Kromeriz which was to put an end to the coalition. A proposal was also submitted and adopted at the assembly because Czech National Council deputies elected for this movement to separate themselves from the council early next year and to take over again the executive and legislative power temporarily delegated to them.

If this is the case, this would naturally go against the Constitution. Those who submitted the proposal obviously do not care about this as they consider the current Constitution as imperfect.

I also think that this is imperfect, but as the old Romans used to say: Dura lex sed lex—better a bad law than no law at all. An imperfect constitution is better than no constitution at all.

I will say something now which is not popular but I will nevertheless say it: We have to respect and preserve this imperfect Constitution. By this, we respect not the imperfect rules of this imperfect Constitution but the Constitution in general, that is, a principle that stands above all of us. There is something even high than the laws, something basic which we all have agreed on, something which is a prerequisite for the game of political forces to be played in a civilized way, for laws to be observed and for people to be able to demand that they be observed.

Czech Government Seeks Federation Bill Amendment

LD2310211390 Prague CTK in English 1859 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 23 (CTK)—The draft amendment to the bill on the Czechoslovak Federation is in some aspects not fully in harmony with agreements reached between representatives of the federal and the two republic governments in Trencianske Teplice and Piestany earlier this year, the Czech Government said today.

At its special meeting, the Czech Government confirmed the principle under which the bill defining the powers of the federation and the two republics must be the result of agreement by all three governments. It recommended that the three premiers hold a meeting on this question, and said the Czech Government's procedure would be based only on close cooperation with the Czech National

Council (parliament). Only then can the constitutional bill be submitted for discussion to the federal parliament.

Later in the day, representatives of the two republic governments met for consultations on the bills.

Klaus Says Civic Forum Views To Shift to Right

AU2310165590 Prague CTK in English 1535 GMT 19 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 19 (CTK)—New chairman of the Civic Forum (OF) Vaclav Klaus said today that "it will be necessary to narrow the spectrum" of views in this public movement and noted that its latest development undoubtedly means a shift to the right.

In order to regain and strengthen its position, the OF must take a really clear-cut line. "It is not enough for the OF to play the role of an umbrella body covering an endless quantity of different views," Klaus told a regular press conference of the Civic Forum, his first at the head of the movement.

The Civic Forum has been reluctant to constitute itself as a formal political party, saying it covers a broad range of views from left to right. Klaus' election was mostly interpreted by the press as a clear sign that the movement, which won a landslide victory in last June's parliamentary elections, would move to the right, to a formation with a clear economic program.

Klaus has been finance minister since last December and co-author of the blueprint for economic reform. He was elected OF chairman last weekend, with a large majority over a candidate allegedly favored by President Havel. Klaus belonged to a group of economists who joined the Civic Forum when it was forming last November to supply it with an economic program.

Klaus said that the OF has been aware of a drop in confidence from its supporters. "A political movement which represents the interests of roughly half the voters cannot and does not want to afford this."

Klaus said that many people often forget how much has been done in a relatively short time and the OF will have to part ways with a group of "permanent grumblers," a type who are destabilizing for any society.

The chairman said that emphasis on economic reform now becomes the backbone of the OF program. "The conditions we want to create in this way, conditions of economic freedom, are the basic prerequisite for all other freedoms, including political ones," Klaus said.

Answering a question he said that his relations with President Vaclav Havel were very good and constructive.

Havel Talks With Skoda Employees in Plzen

LD2310224290 Prague Dometic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Excerpts] Republic President Vaclav Havel visited Plzen today. Jaroslav Hudec reports:

[Begin recording] [Hudec] The first hour of his stay in Plzen was spent in a discussion with the leadership of the Skoda concern. [passage omitted] President Havel told employees:

[Havel] We will probably have to go through many difficult moments, and most likely we will not be able to avoid various social upheavals; we will not be able to avoid various confrontations, conjectures, various misunderstandings, but this will be a certain phase which we will have to go through. I have a feeling that we will get through this phase best of all only if we realize that the price that we are paying in the form of various upheavals and misunderstandings and sacrifices is in fact a price that is well justified. We are paying it for having endured this system for 40 years, for not having withstood it, for not having opposed it sufficiently, for us all having shared in it, but each of us in a different way, in fact contributing toward the system being able to devastate our economy, our living environment, our moral environment, and our political life. [end recording]

Afterward President Vaclev Havel viewed some production lines of Skoda Factory. [passage omitted]

Rescue of 9 Czech Miners Halted; 30 Dead

AU2310171990 Prague CTK in English 1808 GMT 21 Oct 90

[Text] Ostrava, North Moravia, Oct 21 (CTK)—The death toll after Thursday's coal mine accident in Ostrava-Karvina increased to 21 after a wounded miner died in a hospital, CTK was told Friday.

The rescue operation continued during the whole night as nine miners were still missing. The operation was very complicated as the shafts and tunnels have collapsed. Criminal police have also started investigations.

The accident is believed to have been caused by a methane gas explosion which was followed by fire.

Director of a Czech mining authority department Miroslav Pospisil stated that the miners were likely to be trapped in a tunnel with limited access of air due to defects on the ventilation equipment but added that it was not yet clear whether they were exactly at the spot where the blast occurred on Thursday afternoon.

Pospisil said that rescue workers have been trying to install new ventilation equipment in the mine.

There is no longer any hope of rescuing the nine miners trapped in a tunnel of a coal-mine in Karvina following an explosion last Thursday, a commission investigating the accident has said, and notified the families of the missing miners.

The number of victims of the accident thus increased to 30. One miner was released from hospital for home treatment and another two seriously injured miners are out of acute danger to their lives.

Fuel Shortage Halts Olomouc Transportation System

AU2410102990 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Oct 90 p 5

[CTK report: "Buses at a Standstill in Olomouc"]

[Text] Olomouc—On Thursday [18 October], the 107,000 citizens of Olomouc and visitors to the largest city in Hana found out what an oil shortage is in practice. A shortage of fuel forced the Olomouc City Transportation Enterprise to completely suspend services on all its bus routes from 0800 to 1300 and from 1900 to 2100. Moreover, on Saturday and Sunday [20 and 21 October] some routes will not be in operation at all.

"The issue does not involve financing the increased cost of fuel," said Emanuel Rozsival, the enterprise's economic deputy. "Olomouc town hall has given us complete support in covering our needs. However, the fact is at the moment there is absolutely no fuel."

Oldrich Hajek, head of the City of Olomouc Transportation Enterprise management team, gave more details about the situation: "We have 4,000 liters of fuel in stock, while we need 5,900 liters per working day and 2,900 liters per holiday. The situation should change for the better next week."

Deputy Slovak Premier on Andras Affair

LD2310175590 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Interview with Jan Carnogursky, Slovak deputy prime minister and chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement, by unidentified station correspondent in Carnogursky's government office "late" in the evening of 22 October—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Mr. Deputy Prime Minister, after what we heard at the press conference at the Ministry of the Interior from Slovak Prime Minister Meciar, the question stands very unequivocally: Either Interior Minister Andras resigns, or he himself will do so. What is your view on this outcome of the press conference?

[Carnogursky] We regard the whole conflict concerning Minister Andras as very unfortunate and very poorly chosen in the current situation in which Slovakia has everything else, but definitely not such a conflict. Moreover, and this is the main thing, we see no reason why such a conflict should have arisen. For this reason, Andras himself will not offer his resignation. He is backed by the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH], and if Minister Andras and thus the KDH are pushed out of the government the person who has pushed us out of the government will have to realize the consequences connected with it.

I believe that Slovakia at present needs a government that represents the majority of our society and not a minority government, and if anyone believes that he can govern with a minority government he may be very mistaken. In addition, let me say that we have heard from more than one circle before the elections that there was a threat of some kind of totalitarianism in Slovakia from the KDH. I believe that we can see very clearly that there is no threat of any kind of totalitarianism from the KDH, but that the threat of totalitarianism may eventually emerge from other sources.

[Correspondent] Mr. Deputy Prime Minister, does this mean that the KDH is willing to risk a government crisis in this case?

[Carnogursky] I said that Minister Andras does not intend to resign. We do not intend to recall him. We are standing behind Minister Andras.

[Correspondent] Does this mean that you regard as groundless all the objections leveled by the prime minister at the present conference against the person of Minister Andras?

[Carnogursky] I did not stay at that press conference and do not therefore know the details. Obviously we will familiarize ourselves with them in the next few days and will probably make known our views on them.

[Correspondent] Would it not be possible to presume that the KDH has taken advantage of the crisis situation in the Public Against Violence [VPN] and has exploited this preelection situation to make a preelection move vis-a-vis the person of Andras and his position in the government?

[Carnogursky] This is not true at all. The best proof of this is that after all it was not us who started the Andras affair.

[Correspondent] What is the essence of the dispute? Why do you think this dispute has reached such dimensions?

[Carnogursky] To be truthful, I do not know, and I regard it as somewhat irrational. But this irrationality does not come from our side.

[Correspondent] Do you therefore believe that Minister Andras is competent, morally unblemished, and that he holds the right position?

[Carnogursky] Yes.

[Correspondent] If you permit me, Mr. Deputy Prime Minister, after the extended edition of Radio Journal in which Premier Meciar gave his views on the work and competence of the interior minister a very large number of listeners called us to express their support for Mr. Meciar. In the given case you are talking about a Slovakia-wide viewpoint. If appears to me personally that Slovakia will mostly back Mr. Meciar. This is my personal view. What is yours?

[Carnogursky] Everyone in Slovakia has the right to chose one's own stance. We are not taking away this right. I have only conveyed our own stance.

[Correspondent] Do you realize the consequences this will bring to Slovakia and Czechoslovakia?

[Carnogursky] I beg you, we do realize such consequences but others too ought to realize them. After all, we are not the only party to this affair.

[Correspondent] In this instance, what is your specific view of how to proceed.

[Carnogursky] My view is such that we will be working normally in the government as we have been to date. This after all is not our problem.

[Correspondent] In order to preserve the present government coaliton would it not be more reasonable to adopt a compromise and replace, for instance, Mr. Andras with a new candidate in the post of the minister of the interior?

[Carnogursky] No, it would not because there is no factual reason for the replacement of Minister Andras. If we agree to the replacement of Minister Andras without such factual reasons this would mean that at any time in the future such illusory or nonexistent reasons could be raised against any minister whether he comes from among the ranks of the KDH or from any other party, and he, too, could be asked to resign.

[Correspondent] Allow me to put the following hypothetical question: Let us suppose that neither of the two parties yield. This would be followed by a government crisis and by the collapse of the coalition. What kind of possible coalition would you, the KDH, contemplate in the future?

[Carnogursky] The KDH is not contemplating any coalition. The movement is simply adhering to the coalition agreements. This attack against Minister Andras is a gross violation of the coalition agreement for which we assume no responsibility.

[Correspondent] Mr. Deputy Prime Minister, one more question, this time however within the Czechoslovak context. We know very well that at present we are going through a very sensitive period. Talks have been taking place on the implementation of the conclusions reached in Trencianske Teplice, Piestany, and Kromeriz. In what light do you yourself see the present situation that has arisen in the Slovak government in connection with these whole discussions?

[Carnogursky] We regard the provocation of the Minister Andras affair as extremely unfortunately and a badly chosen matter. I would only like to say that of course we support the prime minister in the talks on the division of powers between the Federal and Slovak Government.

Meciar Comments on Remarks

LD2310190790 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Interview With Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, by unidentified station correspondent in Bratislava on 22 October—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] We drove [last night] to Jiraskova Street where the Slovak Council of Public Against Violence [VPN] had been in session since 1800. Members of the VPN Coordinating Center and the Slovak Council, Fedor Gal, Vladimir Meciar, Marian Calfa, Frantisek Miklosko, and others gathered around us. Together, they all listened to our interview with Jan Carnogursky:

[Correspondent] Mr. Prime Minister, a short while ago you listened to the statement by Dr. Carnogursky, deputy prime minister and chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH], who expressed his views on your evaluation of the activities of Minister Andras. How would you react to his statement?

[Meciar] First of all, it has to be said that the KDH representatives knew about my stance. There were many meetings about this affair. Specifically, I was present at two coalition meetings which dealt with the work of the Ministry of the Interior and with the minister himself. It is not true that they did not know about my actual objection. There was a willingness to accept these objections as justified to enable a change in ministers. Soon the situation arose—because I did not threaten to resign at that time but much earlier if these matters are not solved—a situation almost arose where they were saying: If you like, you go and do what you like; but we will do our own thing no matter what. [sentence as heard]

As for the reasons why I insisted at that time on the removal of Minister Andras, on his resignation, the point at issue here is whether they want to see the reasons because they do exist. For example, look at yesterday's press conference. Minister Andras declared himself to be fully competent there. But at the same time he divulged to Czech journalists the name of a secret official, in fact a secret officer of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution. Is that competent? It is a violation of regulations. In order to do this he has to have permission from the federal minister of interior because the Office for the Protection of the Constitution falls under his jurisdiction. There have been many such faux pas already.

[Correspondent] Mr. Carnogursky said that the KDH will not back down. At the press conference you said: It is me or Andras. This is a situation which is not good for

Slovakia. Do you not see another solution, on your side, other than the resignation of the prime minister the Slovak government?

[Meciar] Excuse me, but they have been holding me in this deadlocked situation for several weeks. It is not that I caused this deadlock situation, but I am in a situation where I can do nothing with the sector of internal administration and security. I am not able to secure a single task there, and a situation arises where the minister is not even responsible to me but is responsible to the KDH despite the fact that this should be a nonparty office. If there is a solution here then I see it in taking the sector of the Ministry of Interior out of the sphere of influence of political organizations and movements, that we would find an expert in Slovakia capable of leading this sector constructively, if we put aside political pettiness and let this person work.

Under no circumstances do I consider the situation to be critical in the sense that it has to end with the breakup of the coalition. I do not link the existence of the coalition to myself personally, and my possible resignation from the office of prime minister of the government is motivated by the fact that I can no longer suffer people who do not have to work to their utmost, and at the same time chase after people at workplaces because of smaller violations of work discipline and to urge the security forces to investigate them. After all, the government has to be a working body, with a high level of work capability, and morally accountable for what it does. How can I sit there and watch it? Do you think it comes easily to me? The minister has 12,000 [currency not specified] a month and he also has another 5,000 at his disposal, and for that he must work. In that he must be equal to others. If we look at things in this way, looking at which party the minister comes from and not looking at his work itself, then we will never move the government, and the government will always be an organ manipulated by the interests of power centers of the individual movements and parties. That is a greater catastrophe than if Meciar is not in the government.

If anything should be done here, if anyone should say anything, then I do not think it should be the parties and movements. They do not have to align themselves with my stance because that is of a personal nature. I did not ask VPN to give me agreement beforehand so that I could make this statement. I informed the minister of the interior at the last meeting that I reserve the right to do this, but I do not wish to force myself personally on to the coalition parties. If anyone has a right to give their views here then it is the citizens. Let them make their views known, whom they want and whom they do not want, and about the movements, parties, and ministers.

[Correspondent] Do you feel that the present situation within VPN is such that this movement is capable of supporting you in your policy in every case, or rather of supporting your policy as a movement?

[Meciar] I would not put this policy in conflict with the movement, because if you look at the policy statement of VPN it emerges from it. This is what my critics in Civic Forum [OF] have attacked me for, that I make my own private policy, but this is only because they have not read the VPN program, they then changed their view. As far as VPN support for me personally is concerned it is unequivocal. Concerning all places from which there are attacks, that is there are two sources of attack, first from some of Civic Forum which does not like certain elements of our policy and they do not like me personally very much, and also certain elements of dissatisfaction in south Slovakia and secretly in some states beyond the borders of our homeland. So far when we have spoken about these questions Mr. Gal has behaved very loyally with full political support and responsibility, every time. I am the prime minister of the government who was put at the head by the movement. I am responsible to that movement to a certain degree, but I am responsible to this office and to all the citizens of Slovakia. In this sense it has a wider dimension.

Chairman Gal Discusses VPN Election Issues

AU2410095690 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 18 Oct 90 p 6

[Interview with Fedor Gal, chairman of Slovak Council of Public Against Violance movement, by unidentified NARODNA OBRODA reporter; place and date not given: "The Slovak Political Scene Prior to the Elections"]

[Text] [NARODNA OBRODA] What did your party learn from the first free parliamentary elections?

[Gal] We have learned a few things. First, victory alone does not mean anything and a part of the pre-election strategy should also be to search for partners with whom it would be possible to start a constructive dialogue about solving problems immediately after the elections. Second, the preelection campaign should not be run as too expensive a business. Third, elections are not won by election slogans but by competent candidates and personalities.

[NARODNA OBRODA] What do you want to achieve in the local elections and how do you want to influence life in communities and cities after the elections?

[Gal] I want to add to what I said previously that competent people and not parties and movements should win the local elections because they will take the entire burden of solving local problems upon themselves. It is simply impossible to talk about how we want to influence life in communities and cities after the elections. Each community and each city has its specific problems. Solutions to these problems will depend on people themselves and on those to whom they give their votes. All of us will have to realize, however, that there are nationwide problems that cannot be ignored at the local level. Above all, in the next two years we will have to cope with economic reform, the consequences of which will not affect our everyday life tomorrow or the day after tomorrow. Our duty is to lessen social strain and to search for a remedy to passivity, indifference, and disinterest in public matters. This has surprised me a lot recently. This goes against us all.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Some citizens are disgusted by the rather uncivilized political behavior of political parties and deputies and by their politicking to the detriment of solving important questions. Can you contribute toward improving the political culture of your party so that it becomes apparent before the local elections?

[Gal] Uncivilized political manners and politicking to the detriment of solving important matters are phenomena which we have inherited. No one in our country has devoted his time to the systematic education of personalities. On the contrary, when someone was different from the average, we did everything possible either to make him an average person or to push him away to the verge of society. We have managed to make an integrated political movement out of the Public Against Violence movement. We have adopted a new organizational structure, new statutes, and we have new supreme organs. On the wide scale of opinions, which we still represent, we are endeavoring to find room for consensus. Another thing: We have our clubs of deputies and we are doing everything we can to ensure that our deputies realize they do not represent themselves as independent individuals. They pledged to fulfill the program which gained the support of 30 percent of the population in the elections. As far as the relationship between the government and the movement is concerned, we are endeavoring to make sure that the government, in which the Public Against Violence movement has a dominant position, is a government controlled by society. The movement itself must be politically strong in order to be able to regulate, influence, and articulate the activity of its representatives in the government. I think that our efforts to contribute toward real coalition cooperation are also effective. The coalition must not shake in its foundations every week and every time it faces a serious social, political, or economic problem.

VPN's Gal Analyzes Political Situation

AU2410095890 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 20 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

[Dana Galikova report: "Symmetry of Power and Movement"]

[Excerpts] Modra (from our correspondent)—A two-day seminar for candidates for the post of mayor fielded by the Public Against Violence movement [VPN] and the government coalition parties opened at Modra-Harmonia yesterday. [passage omitted]

The seminar's opening session was addressed by Slovak VPN Council Chairman Fedor Gal, who spoke about the present political situation in Slovakia and the VPN's standpoint on it. He commented, in particular, on the current problems of the VPN, relations between the VPN and the Civic Forum, and the central priorities of our society. He used the example of the language law issue to demonstrate the situation. He focused once again on the fundamental differences between the drafts proposed by the Slovak National Heritage Foundation and the coalition parties with respect to [compliance with] valid international agreements.

He presented some remarkable sociological data that should show objectively the distribution of political forces, current problems and how people perceive them, as well as the expression of the nationality problem in people's minds. The preliminary results (2,200 out of 3,500 responses have been processed) show that, were the elections to take place today, the Slovak National Party would come first with 18.9 percent of the vote, the VPN second with 13.5 percent, the Communist Party of Slovakia third, and the Christian Democratic Movement fourth.

According to the results, 8.5 percent of the Slovak population wishes an independent Slovak state, 75 percent want to have a federation, and 9.8 percent are in favor of a confederation.

Since the parliamentary elections the situation has changed, Fedor Gal went on to say. The electoral victory of the VPN and the Civic Forum is, in essence, historically unrepeatable. To a certain extent, this is illustrated also by the present situation in the Civic Forum, which managed to win to its side more than 60 percent of the Czech and Moravian population. It is not easy, however, to retain such a mass of supporters without undergoing a process of gradual internal differentiation. It is precisely this process that is taking place within the Civic Forum, where a democratic left is taking shape, right now. This process was evident also at the [13 October] Civic Forum Assembly.

The present VPN differs in at least two fundamental matters from the Civic Forum. The first is [a smaller degree of] internal differentiation, a process which could lead up to the formation of two independent Civic Forum parts. The second difference is that the VPN is trying to establish some sort of a symmetry between the power structure, legislative bodies, and our movement. We do not want any accumulation of power, F. Gal went on to say, we want the movement to retain a certain independence and the right to control the execution of power. At present the VPN represents one of the most consolidated movements. The present unity and integrity is also one of the fundamental needs and duties of the VPN. This integrity could, however, be threatened by the incomplete system [of organizational links] between [VPN groups in] individual towns and districts. It could also be threatened by certain feelings of resentment because of what happened in the past weeks and months or by enclaves that have sprung up around individual personalities and problems. This is a normal phenomenon. It would not be normal, on the other hand, if we tried to set them apart from the movement. [passage omitted]

Slovak Freedom Party Chairman Outlines Policy

LD2410093490 Prague CTK in English 0841 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Bratislava Oct 23 (CTK)—"In spite of the fact that our party was not as successful in the June parliamentary elections as was expected, the number of its members has grown by 11 per cent since then," reelected chairman of the Freedom Party Gustav Kovac has told CTK.

He said that the main aim of his party is to gain support in the village and cooperate with right centre parties, especially with the Freedom Party of Austria (FPO). Dealing with the issue of the federal set-up of the state, he supported coexistence with the Czech nation in the framework of a confederation.

The freedom party, which was founded in 1943 as the Christian-Republican party, gained 1.77 per cent of votes in the parliamentary elections in June 1990.

State Bank Chairman on Impact of 'Oil Shock'

AU2310112790

[Editorial Report] Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech on 15 October on pages 1 and 3 and on 19 October on page 3 publishes in two installments a 2,000-word interview with Czechoslovak State Bank Chairman Josef Tosovsky, by SVOBODNE SLOVO correspondent Petr Husak. The place and date of the interview are not given.

In the first installment, Tosovsky discusses various aspects of Czechoslovakia's renewed IMF and World Bank membership.

In the second installment, Tosovsky discusses, among other things, the consequences of the "triple oil shock" (caused by a cut in Soviet oil deliveries, the increase in world oil prices as a result of the Gulf crisis, and the transition to payment in convertible currencies in CEMA trade). Tosovsky says that Czechoslovakia cannot expect any loans from the IMF to overcome the "triple oil shock" but must seek funds on the capital markets. He mentions that the Czechoslovak State Bank has "earmarked" $250 million this year to cushion the impact of the oil shock, which is an amount that is "sustainable both from the viewpoint of our loans (lest we damage our reputation on the market) and from the viewpoint of the needs of the internal economy." In addition, the Czechoslovak Commercial Bank obtained two loans of 350 million German marks on the German capital market. Tosovsky stresses, however, that the "brunt" of the oil shock will have to be absorbed within the economy because Czechoslovakia does not want to run up excessive debts and because it wants to use foreign credits for the modernization and restructuring of the Czechoslovak economy.

Asked whether, after the transition to payment in convertible currencies in trade with the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia will be able to use as a "buffer" its assets in transferable rubles, Tosovsky says that the Czechoslovak assets in transferable rubles in the Soviet Union will be converted into dollars. Because "several billion transferable rubles" are involved, the conversion rate will have a tremendous impact on Czechoslovakia's dollar assets in the Soviet Union. Tosovsky does not specify what the conversion rate will be, he only mentions that during the last round of negotiations with Hungary the Soviet side "offered" a conversion rate of 0.92 transferable rubles per $1.

Another subject raised in the interview concerns the Slovak demand for "several banks of issue." Tosovsky replies that "if there is a single currency in the whole federation, we must also have a single monetary policy and one bank of issue, controlled from one center." He adds that, should Czechoslovakia join the EC, even its central bank would become a "mere branch" of a single European central bank. It would therefore be "irrational" to establish several banks of issue now.

Tosovsky is also asked about his view on the opening of the border between Czechoslovakia and Poland. He replies that the opening of the border must be preceded by the "creation of economic conditions" and that one of the main economic conditions is an adjustment of the exchange rate. He warns that if the border is opened without a prior solution to the exchange rate issue, Czechoslovak shops will be swept empty by Polish tourists "which, in its consequences, would boomerang not only against economic but also against political cooperation with Poland."

World Bank Credits at $500-660 Million

AU2310174790 Prague CTK in English 1937 GMT 19 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 19 (CTK)—World Bank First Vice President Moeen Qureshi told journalists here today that Czechoslovakia could get credits worth 500 to 660 million dollars in the first stage.

He described Czechoslovakia as a trustworthy partner thanks to its reform programs and therefore the World Bank will help it realize its plans. Czechoslovakia was readmitted to the World Bank (and the International Monetary Fund) in September.

The World Bank credits should be followed by substantially more massive credits from private institutions, the first vice president said adding that the bank's credits should boost especially restructuring of the Czechoslovak industry, development of the private sphere, raising of professional qualification, and other programs.

According to Moeen Qureshi, Czechoslovakia's long-term tasks include especially a new concept in the energy industry and an ecological program which should be worked out by the World Bank together with the Czechoslovak Government.

The bank's representative appreciated his talks with Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus, Economy Minister Vladimir Dlouhy, and State Bank of Czechoslovakia President Josef Tosovsky.

He praised the knowledge of Czechoslovak leading economists and a relatively high level of education of people, but was critical of the unsuitable structure of the industrial base and the fact that it is largely lagging behind developments.

Differences With Hungary on Danube Project Cited

AU2310174490 Prague CTK in English 1913 GMT 19 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 19 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Minister for the Environment Josef Vavrousek told journalists today that the Czechoslovak and Hungarian stands on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros project of waterworks on the Danube were irreconcilable and excluded compromise.

The only option now is to involve the two governments in the discussion on the future of the project and form a government consultative commission in which European Community (EC) experts would participate.

Hungary unilaterally suspended work on the Nagymaros part of the water system in 1988. The project has drawn strong protests from environmentalists who fear pollution to drinking water and complete change of the environment which would destroy the fauna and flora in the area. Czechoslovakia has argued that the present state in which the building site finds itself may be dangerous.

Journalists were also informed that Czechoslovakia did not have an emergency protection system for the event of a nuclear power plant accident (the country has two such plants one being fully and the other partially operational, and another two are being built) and of a natural disaster. A construction of such a system has only just began.

Minister Vavrousek said that Czechoslovakia is to get 30 million ECU [European currency units] from the European Community for the realization of 12 projects within the first stage of the Phare program in the next two years. Phare is a special program co-sponsored by the European Community and the group of 24 advanced states and aimed at giving quick assistance in economic and environmental reconstruction to the former East European communist countries.

Josef Vavrousek also told journalists that an international conference of environment ministers will be held at Dobris, Central Bohemia, in April 1991 which will follow up a similar meeting in Dublin last June. Ministers from states of the European Community, Central and Eastern Europe, and the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) will seek creation of a system of ecological security in Europe.

Prime Minister Antall Hospitalized

MTI Reports Hospitalization

LD2410075490 Budapest MTI in English 0638 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] [Place name indistinct] October 23 (MTI)—The prime minister's Secretariat has announced:

Prime Minister Jozsef Antall was hospitalized on the evening of Tuesday, October 23. Mr Antall is in hospital for medical examinations, and will remain in hospital for a few days.

Biopsy To Be Performed

LD2410083490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0800 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] According to the Defense Minister Lajos Fur, Prime Minister Jozsef Antall will undergo only a routine examination. In the brief interview given to MAGYAR NEMZET, Fur said that it had been planned weeks ago to perform a biopsy on the prime minister, but it was always postponed because of his tightly packed schedule abroad and at home. Jozsef Antall went into the hospital yesterday.

Anniversary of 1956 Revolution Commemorated

Antall Speaks Before National Assembly

LD2310141290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1015 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Speech by Prime Minister Jozsef Antall at a session of the National Assembly in Budapest marking the 34th anniversary of the "revolution and fight for freedom"—live]

[Text] Mr. Speaker, esteemed house, fellow countrymen: The nation had lived through difficult hours, difficult weeks, and difficult years when 23 October dawned on us; the same sunshine, the same weather prevailed in the country. The country was dominated by terrible burdens, by terrible ordeals, by prison, deportation, captivity as prisoners of war for thousands and hundreds of thousands of our people, and by the pain of despotism. At this time, in the space of weeks, months, something moved in everyone, and everyone felt it that morning, even those who perhaps did not know what had happened the previous night, as well as those who had not taken part in the events which we had previously lived through.

I believe that commemorating 23 October means that we must reformulate a chapter, a period of our national history. The history of our people has profoundly analyzed and deeply lived through rational consequences which contain merciless lessons. There must, however, be events which belong to the subject matter of history, which have been preserved and lived through as history. If there are no histories, if there is no mythology, then there is no spiritual community.

The United States of America has had a national history for only 200 years, and parts of its national history are the War of Independence, and the Civil War, in which people tore one another to bits and massacred each another.

Our history includes our numerous fights for freedom, our numerous struggles for freedom. These mythologies keep the nation alive, and these mythologies, whether they are Rakoczi's fight for freedom, 1848-49, or 1956, constitute the preservation and amassing of the nation's spirituality, faith, and will in a historical concept.

The year 1956 has become a chapter of equal rank in our national history, even if it covered a shorter period of time; its historical significance is not less than the longer events referred to. Perhaps it is the acceleration of history that produced events and struggles during a shorter period of time which have the same significance. As in history, therefore, those who were not directly involved could also take part, those who were not part of the nation at that time could also claim their share in our path. Just as the Hungarians today—regardless of their forefathers arriving in this country later—can claim St. Stephen, Mohacs, Rakoczi, and 1948, 1956 can also be claimed by everyone forever, because this means a cleansing, uplifting period of national history. It is the expression of this spirit, while at the same time 1956 is the source of special morality. Those who lived through it know not only the martyrdom, which is always the greatest gift of a new faith—a new force—because a nation can build most of its morality on the martyrs. Just as every new faith needs martyrs, we, tragically, were given the opportunity to have martyrs for our new faith, our new source of power. They are the ones we must always remember first, and we must remember the millions.

When, after a period of robbery, after moral decline and stealing, when the stealing by the state excused the moral condemnation of theft, almost from one day to another a whole country became honest. Broken shop windows and money boxes on the streets could remain unguarded because no one would touch them. The people became part of this new morality, this giant source of moral strength. This is the extraordinary strength that we must all remember—that a nation is able to cleanse itself from one minute to another, and that every person wants such cleansing. This must continue to remain a great common strength and momory, even if after it they again start excusing themselves and each other from stealing.

The year 1956 is not only a national history, it is not only the source of our national ethnics, but an event of world historical significance, which is of merit for us. We can proudly profess it before the world, because this will not make us nationalists, nor will it make us self-centered or egocentric. We can assess that Hungarians, with this struggle, cut a hole the ship of tyranny in 1956, and, while it was possible to stop this leak and keep the ship afloat, never again could this leak be patched successfully.

The year 1956 is of world historical significance because before then there had been struggles, there had been battles, there had been demonstrations. This time, however, the country took a united stand with its lawful government and premier against the Soviet power of the time. It took a stand against the biggest world power which then determined the territory and our world, and which the entire Western world had to confront and build a bridgehead against.

This was an event of world historical significance, about which we felt even then—even in the days of defeat after 4 November—that we were about to fail, but that the time must come when—in the perspective of history—the ideals which failed on this occasion would be realized. Let us be proud of the fact that this historical turnabout will be entered in the annals when that certain colorless [drappszinue] Bolshevik Party history is rewritten. Furthermore, when it is truthfully written, it will be said that 1956 represented a turning point in history, just like the 1848 revolutions and other defeated revolutions, which were signposts for new eras.

The year 1956 is also of historical significance in that it became impossible in a European country ever again to cooperate with the Soviet policy of the time—with the Stalinist and post-Stalinist communist parties—without forfeiting alliance with the giants of the spirit of communism. It was no longer possible in Western Europe to be a left-wing intellectual while cooperating with a Soviet-type communist party. Around that time something was born which later came into fashion in the form of Eurocommunism. Those left-wing intellectuals, [word indistinct] and others, who in the antifascist struggle found or felt an alliance with communist movements, could no longer do this, because 1956 became a watershed for Europe and the world between decency and deceit, between democracy and dictatorship. [applause]

We must also remember this. Now, when the country is living through its difficult hours, when Hungary is stricken not just by its legacy, but also by new blows, new pains, new afflictions, and often by a disappointment which gives rise to apathy, we still must remember 1956. Furthermore, 1956, which is a myth because it gives strength, ideals, and morals, is also a historical lesson, and is the subject of rational analysis. We can safely say that our revolution, which now is being carried through peacefully, has not failed after two weeks, and it has not failed after one-and-one-half years, either.

We trust that it is now succeeding, but we should conduct an analysis and we should try to remember: Those who are acquainted with history, those who know that there were tensions and differences even between the heroes of national history of 1848-49, those who have read the reminiscences and know of the petty accusations which were addressed to one another, and those who are able remember that in 1956, alongside the beautiful and fine things, the germs of differences existed among us even then. Those who read the memoirs, read about the doubts and the attacks, are truly aware of the multihued differences of which our beautiful revolution and fight for freedom would have been the cradle had it not been crushed. The crushing of this revolution preserves its history, no matter how tragic.

Our task now—with the strength and faith of history, through rationally analyzing the lessons of the past—is to feel that, despite the differences and the passions between us, a large national unity must prevail in the basic issues. Differences must be manifested as a release of tension in such a way that they do not affect our parliamentary nature, our multiparty system, or the democracy for which we struggled together. It is necessary, however, for this difference—for this contexting or this opposition—to have a technique—a method and a morality—because this nation, these people and, least of all, the politicians, cannot allow some kind of tribal warfare to rage in this country and weaken our will in the creation of the new world, of a genuinely functioning democracy and an economy which is able to function.

The common ideals of 1956 must obligate us so that the Hungarian National Assembly—the government that is answerable to the National Assembly—do their utmost for us to enact the laws as quickly as possible, and for us to create the conditions to emerge from this grave crisis. This is what the country and the world, expects of us, and only in this manner is it possible for us to be helped.

I believe that there are no self-destructive wishes among these people, there are no such wishes in us; furthermore, if there are no such things, then, believing in a new era which gives strength, keeping faithfully to our ideals and political creed, and respecting one another's views, we must try to work together in government, in the National Assembly, and in the self-governments to fight against destitution, against the germs of apathy shattering this people and this nation. Thank you. [applause]

Goncz Speaks Before Assembly

LD2310171390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1026 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Speech by President Arpad Goncz at a session of the National Assembly in Budapest marking the 34th anniversary of the "revolution and fight for freedom"—live]

[Text] Esteemed house, today we celebrate the 34th anniversary of the outbreak of our revolution, and the first anniversary of the declaration of our Republic. The earlier anniversary commemorates the events of a generation ago. Fewer and fewer of us who experienced those events as adults are alive today. The pathos of the revolution lives in all of us.

It is easy to recall the memories, but to put them into words and to relive them is difficult. Even in 1956, only the living memory and words of the suppressed first bourgeois revolution and freedom fight of 1848 were available. We had to call on Petoefi, Kossuth, and Voeroesmarty for help; we had to borrow their words to express our glowing passion in the shadow of a colorless era. The lifespan of a generation is long enough for the most burning pathos to lose its glow, and the shy or even ostentatious memory hesitantly looks for words which are momentarily considered understandable, with which the believed truth of the era, the revolution, can be truly recalled. It is a hopeless effort.

The year 1956 has as many variations as the people who lived through it. We believed then that we were the ones who had made the revolution; because we were sentenced to death, to imprisonment, and to exile for this cause, we held this belief for a long time afterwards. It took a long time and was very difficult for us to accept the truth: We did not make the revolution, rather, the revolution made us. All of us who took part—and we numbered in the millions—came from different backgrounds and carried different memories. Different families, different surroundings, different experiences had formed us into the people we were when the flow of the revolution carried us along.

The common protest against the unbearable—1956—was stronger than us, stronger than all its participants. It shaped us in its own image, and we believed that it would also determine our egos, once and for all. It took a decade for us, the defeated victors of the revolution held captive by our counquerors, to suddenly realize that we were not alike even in our striped prison uniforms, that the flow of the revolution was in one direction, and that it carried people from different backgrounds in that particular direction. We remained ourselves, we still carried the remnants of our identities from before, as well as after the revolution. Even after this we held on desperately to the memory of unity, the joint emotion of our being one, which was greater than the jointly professed objective of the revolution, the undisputed single aim—the nation's independence, neutrality, and the creation of a communal society which is deemed socialist, is just, and is cleared of all blemishes, a society which does not tolerate exploitation.

As Istvan Bibo, in full agreement with the reviewed parties that identify with the revolution and with the revolutionary organizations, phrased it: We defended it becuase the unavoidable reality is that there were as many 1956's as there were participants in it, or indeed its opponents.

Before we could set down the facts that became drowned in lies, the outlines slowly and surely became blurred. Even the memory of the revolution has become eroded by all the curses of the past, so as to alter it with the changing awareness of the next generation. In recognition of this inevitable process, before the commemoration of 1956 becomes the shallow celebration of school holidays, I would like to declare that 1956 belongs to everyone. Even if it had been as varied as its participants, 1956 was one and indivisible, like a cut diamond whose every facet reflects and breaks the light at a different angle. Inseparable from 1956 are the reform communists, the Irodalmi Ujsag, the Petoefi Circle, the communist martyr prime minister who stood by the people and stayed with them until death, and all those who stood with him.

Inseparable are the students with their demands, the streets, and the rebels who tipped the scales of the events toward victory. Inseparable are the workers who took possession of the factories and the worker councils, the villages that burned the land records, the peasants who supplied Budapest with food voluntarily, and the railway workers who continuously supplied the Army with information. Inseparable are the soldiers who took up the desperate fight against the Soviet forces, the officers who accepted their responsibilities in court even to the death, the common soldiers who often continued to fight against orders, the striking miners who defended their mines with arms, and those individuals with the guns who sacrificed their lives in the streets, and if not killed outright or hung, tatooed a kossuth emblem on thier chests in prison to be repeatedly beaten.

Inseparable are the medical students who saved wounded freedom fighters and soviet soldiers equally from the battle lines. Inseparable are Maleter and Pongracz, Istvan Angyal and John the wooden leg, Mari Vitner and Istvan Marian, and Attila Szigeti and Ferenc Donath. Inseparable are all the victims of the Mosonmagyarorvar and Salgotarjan firing squads, Imre Mezoe and all the dead of the Koztarsasag Ter. Inseparable even is the driver who, unsuspectingly returning from an official trip, was shot on the 25th in front of the Ministry of Agriculture.

Inseparable are those who wrote newspapers, who took photographs, who operated radio transmitters, and who kept records of the events in the privacy of their rooms. Inseparble are the emigrants who fought the aftermath of the revolution in the United Nations or in Strasbourg, those who defended the memory of the revolution in Australia, those Hungarians and Romanians who were imprisoned in Romania for 1956. The faces of all these people and their actions are reflected on the surface of the unscrathable diamond, on the face our common 1956.

I would like to begin the first anniversary of our Republic with the thought that no one should try to deprive us of our common treasure: the pure memory of 1956. Without it the multicolored community of citizens, the people who fought the revolution, could not have taken possession of their country one year ago. The people are the common owners of the country and are, we can now declare this, the real heroes and the real victors of 1956. The people are the key and the guarantors of our country's future, the future that perhaps is not shaping up the way we imagined it in 1956. Many ideas have been revalued since then: socialism, Europe, neutrality, and private property.

The world has changed and continues to change around us. We must admit honestly that we are still fighting. Parliament, the government, the people of Hungary, we are fighting with our circumstances, ourselves, and the past that is still alive within us. Our fight is still common and indivisible, only immensely more complicated than the fight against a tangible enemy who could be fought with the machine guns.

Today the enemies are the specter of poverty, the uncertainties of existence, so let us not create enemies in one another. The aim of today's fight is the future, the solidarity of society just as it was in 1956.

So let us bravely take our just inheritance, the spirit of 1956, which teaches us that if people stand up in their own defense, if they feel the fate of the country is a common cause, they can overcome prejudices and hostilities, can overcome petty interests, and are able to become ennobled together as a nation. If they are able to do this, only the gates of hell can overcome them, only the gates of hell.

Commemorations Held Nationwide

LD2410123490 Budapest MTI in English 1018 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Budapest, October 23 (MTI)—Commemorations of the outbreak, and the events, of the revolution on October 23, 1956, were held throughout the country on Tuesday.

A rally was held at the Budapest Technical University. The youth rally held on October 22, 1956, which is generally considered as the direct event preceding the outbreak of the revolution, was recalled.

Parliament Member of Parliament Imre Mecs, who was a fifth-year student of the university then and who, after the revolution, was condemned to death but was not executed, recalled that 24,000 people condemned after 1956, and 400 were executed.

Following the commemoration, the participants marched to the Bem statue, as was done 34 years ago on October 23.

In Debrecen, a rally was held in the square in front of the Lajos Kossuth University of Arts and Sciences, to commemorate the events of 34 years ago. Wreaths were then placed at the memorial of the heroes who lost their lives in the city.

In Szeged, a festive mass was celebrated in the cathedral, and a festive performance was held in the national theatre, to commemorate the victims of the revolution. A torch-light procession was held in the evening hours.

In Pecs, a wreath-laying ceremony was held, and the first Hungarian National Guard took the oath. The members of the Guard promised in the oath to remain loyal to the ideas of the 1848-49, and the 1956 Hungarian revolutions. (Members of the recently founded, unarmed organization participate in maintaining public order, cooperating with the police.)

The anniversary was also commemorated in almost all towns and villages in the country.

Freedom Fighters' Rally Held

LD2410112290 Budapest MTI in English 1027 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Budapest, October 23 (MTI)—Participants of the World Meeting of Hungarian Freedom Fighters, organized in Hungary for the first time, on Tuesday held a rally in the Budapest Sports Hall. Several thousand people commemorated the revolution and freedom fight of 1956.

The opening speech was delivered by Erzsebet Nagy, the daughter of Prime Minister Imre Nagy, who died a martyr's death. Ms Nagy recalled that some 250,000 people were forced to flee their homeland after the 1956 revolution was put down. The peoples of the free world received the Hungarians with love and solidarity.

On behalf of the Hungarian Government, Prime Minister Jozsef Antall welcomed those who were imprisoned and humiliated at home over the past decades. He also welcomed those who fled abroad as political emigrants, but not to save their lives, but to take news of the idea of Hungarian freedom. All Hungarians of the world should jointly accept to better the fate of the nation, Mr Antall said. The soldiers of the 1956 Hungarian freedom fight can do the most in this interest. Mr Antall stressed that 1956 belongs to the entire nation, but special appreciation is due those who never, under force, or from financial interests, or from cowardice, called 1956 a counter-revolution, who never rejected its ideas.

Of the foreign guests attending the rally, a speech was made by Vytautas Landsbergis, president of the Lithuanian parliament. He said the Hungarian uprising and revolution inspired unbelievable hope in his generation. The holiday of the 1956 uprising, the day of declaration of the Republic of Hungary is also the holiday of the Lithuanian people fighting against oppression.

Participants of the world meeting on Tuesday visited the sites of the Budapest battles in 1956. At the building of the Hungarian Radio, a memorial plaque was unveiled in memory of the revolutionaries who participated in the fight. However, participants were not willing to place their wreaths at the plaque as long as the memorial plaque of the former defenders of the radio building—who fought against the revolutionaries—was not covered. (A few hours later, unknown persons broke into pieces the memorial plaque unveiled on Tuesday.)

Ceremonies marking the 34th anniversary of the Hungarian revolution and freedom fight ended on Tuesday evening, with a torchlight rally held in Kossuth Square, in front of Parliament Building. Participants of the first World Meeting of Hungarian Freedom Fighters in Hungary were present at the demonstration.

Incidents Reported at Mass Rally

LD2410015290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Report by correspondent Janos Hollos from Kossuth Square in Budapest—live or recorded]

[Text] At 1900 [1800 GMT] this evening about 10,000 people gathered in front of the parliament building for the closing event of the Budapest celebrations. The crowd here was not nearly as dignified and solemn as at other events. Despite the fact that every significant political organization appealed to its followers to celebrate in a neutral party fashion, here at Kossuth Square many party flags and badges can be seen.

The other reason [for the disturbances] is that the group that tore down the marble plaque unveiled in memory of the 1956 revolution on the wall of the radio building marched across from Sandor Brody Street [where the radio building is] to the parliament chanting nationalistic and irredentist slogans and disrupted the festive occasion several times with loud chants and heckling. Eventually the quiet majority could not keep this extremely loud minority at bay.

The speakers, even if with some difficulty, could eventually finish their speeches. The participants paid the most attetion to the words of Istvan Csurka. The speaker said that this 34th anniversary is the first entirely free holiday marking the 1956 revolution and although the change of regime has started it is nowhere near finished. To complete the revolution, clear-sightedness, a reconciled nation, and national solidarity are needed.

The condition for this, however, is to deliver justice and to pass judgement on people who come to power with the help of corruption and without merit, said Istvan Csurka.

Wreaths Laid at Nagy Gravesite

LD2410100390 Budapest MTI in English 0629 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Budapest, October 23 (MTI)—Following Parliament's festive session, a wreath-laying ceremony was held at Budapest's [word indistinct] cemetery at the gravesite of Imre Nagy and his fellow martyrs. Wreaths were placed, with military honours, by Arpad Goncz, president of the Republic, Jozsef Antall, prime minister, and [passage indistinct].

Wreaths and flowers of remembrance were placed at the gravesite by representatives of many Hungarian and foreign organizations. Hundreds of citizens also placed flowers of remembrance and mourning at the gravesite of the martyrs.

National Day Marked in Prague, Bonn

LD2410114590 Budapest MTI in English 1022 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Excerpt] Budapest, October 23 (MTI)—Gyorgy Varga, Hungarian ambassador to Prague, hosted a reception on Tuesday, on the occasion of October 23, the Hungarian National Day.

Present at the reception were Karl Schwarzenberg, head of the Presidential Office of Vaclav Havel, Alexander Vondra, foreign policy advisor to the president, and representatives of many Czechoslovak political movements, including several leaders of the Hungarian organizations of Slovakia, and several prominent figures of Czechoslovak social and cultural life.

Ambassador Varga presented his credentials to President Vaclav Havel on Monday, October 22. It was in the course of the talks held after the ceremony that the new Hungarian ambassador forwarded the invitation of Hungarian President Arpad Goncz to Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel, for a visit to Hungary. Mr Havel accepted the invitation.

A reception was also held in the Hungarian Embassy in Bonn, hosted by Ambassador Istvan Horvath.

Present at the reception were Willy Brandt, honorary president of the Social Democratic Party, Volker Ruhe, general secretary of the Christian Democratic Union, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, foreign minister, and Theo Waigel, minister of finance and leader of the Bavarian Christian Social Union. [passage omitted]

PRAVDA Assessment of 1956 Cited

LD2410102390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] PRAVDA has described the deployment of Soviet troops in Hungary in 1956 as an inevitable [kenyszerue] and tragic action. At the same time it claims that Moscow intervened in the events at the direct request of the Hungarian Communists. In connection with yesterday's commemorations, the Moscow paper writes that many people still refer to autumn of 1956 as a counterrevolution, because they do not agree with the current official evaluation. The tragic events demand a deep analysis and objective evaluation, expresses PRAVDA in its Budapest report.

Finance Minister Rabar on Economic Forecast

AU2410102290 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 21 Oct 90 pp 1, 8

[Interview with Finance Minister Ferenc Rabar by unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "There Is Only One Program—There Is No Room for Deferring"; first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] Recently, Ferenc Rabar completely retreated into the background. Many people thought that he did not appear in public because of his increasingly dissident points of view, and that this was also the reason why he did not appear when the government program was published. The ice broke, however, at a news conference held on 17 October: Ferenc Rabar painted quite a pessimistic picture of the future, and he was the first government member to disclose some facts as well. Following this, we asked the finance minister to answer some of our questions.

[NEPSZABADSAG] The white paper that was published a few weeks ago only contains generalities; individual statements have revealed that the government has no clear concept of the economic program for the next few years. Why do they not declare this openly?

[Rabar] Let me ask a question in return: What do we call a government program? Some people think that it is unnecessary to elaborate a program which is too detailed, given that everything changes. That is why the government program, that can be purchased for 38 forints, hardly contains any figures. On the other hand, at the Finance Ministry, following the examination of several alternatives, a detailed program was elaborated, which, of course, contained data. That program cannot be seen as final, because it still only contains approximate figures for 1992 and 1993. The present uncertain circumstances, however, particularly the collapse of CEMA trade, give grounds for calculations which do not plan too far ahead.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Your words also confirm the rumors that two concepts, two programs, and two groups exist within the government.

[Rabar] There are not two programs. The national renewal program was written for the general public; it contains few figures, and thus, it allows for the elaboration of several executive solutions. As far as the executive aspect was concerned, there really were differing viewpoints within the government, which is perfectly normal in a body which makes a collective decision, particularly if the situation is marked by such a crisis.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Is it also normal for the finance minister to be voted down on several important issues at government sessions?

[Rabar] I think that because of the very nature of his function, the finance minister is forced to put a limit on concepts, and he very often has to say no.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Still, according to leaks from government sessions, the only thing that the body could agree on was that it would reduce financial subventions by 51 billion forints. Nevertheless, the details of this decision are yet to be elaborated.

[Rabar] After much debate, in recent times, the prevailing opinion has been that the Hungarian economy has nowhere to go. Our possibilities are determined by objective external factors, and compared to these factors, the differences between the programs that aim for faster or slower liberalization can hardly be felt in the economy.

[NEPSZABADSAG] In plain terms, has the difference that could be felt between the economic acceleration program represented by Bela Kadar and Akos Bod Peter, and the restrictive economic policy presented by Gyorgy Suranyi and yourself been washed away by the events of the last few weeks?

[Rabar] I would appreciate it if you did not mention any names, because other groupings were made during the course of concrete debates. It is a fact, however, that the efforts to reduce demand and to stimulate supply have already come into conflict several times; I think that it is indispensable for me to give a somewhat more complete picture of this restrictive monetary policy that you mentioned and that we represent. We are not talking about the infinite prolongation of a restriction, but about a program which would stabilize the forint within a short period of time, and which would further general liberalization. Incidentally, the difference between the two concepts is much more theoretical than practical. The policy aiming for a reduction in demand has always recognized that as many sources as possible must be freed to increase supply. At the same time, concepts which aim for an increase in supply have always had to take into account the possibilities given by the budget.

[NEPSZABADSAG] In other words, there would not be enough money for a large-scale economic acceleration process anyway?

[Rabar] That is precisely the issue. The price of an acceleration process would immediately be tensions in the economy: Resources would have to be regrouped. For example, we could change the individual income tax, or the general VAT system, which would encourage ventures; that, in turn, would benefit people with high incomes and put poor people at a disadvantage.

[NEPSZABADSAG] To resolve its debt, Hungary was counting on a growing economy. Hungary, however, is on a descent, primarily because of the Eastern European crisis. A few months ago, this was not an issue.

[Rabar] When the government came to power, the leadership—or at least the financial leadership—assumed that it would already initiate growth the following year. This would necessitate a functioning market economy. We wanted to take the last steps quickly precisely because we did not want the foreign capital that would arrive in the future and the domestic capital raised in Hungary to spread through our economy in the old way. It looked as though we could even raise the money necessary to finance this step; however, the situation has changed now, and the money that was to be used for adaptation will now help reduce our economic shock. The problem is that the government has been introducing restrictive measures for a series of years now, and the economy is stagnating. So, even small squeezes seriously affect the population. Moreover, these are going to be big restrictions.

[NEPSZABADSAG] You announced this at your news conference. What concrete measures should we expect?

[Rabar] We have to take the last steps necessary for the establishment of market conditions. Our energy prices will have to adapt to the prices elaborated on the international market. The price increase will be very drastic, particularly for heating oil and electric power, although we will "only" withdraw half of our subsidies in 1991. The rent system will have to be changed, together with living quarter standards and the present system of finding proper housing. It would be impossible to implement these measures without hurting anybody; many families will have to change their home—so hard to come by—for a different one because they cannot pay their bills. We, however, will not use authoritative methods; we will reestablish real price relations. We will extend the adaptation over several years, so, in 1991, we will only take the initial step: We wish to raise the interest rates on credits for living quarters, and to increase rents.

[NEPSZABADSAG] The government decision of December 1989 on the taxation of credits with low interest rates, which was also approved by parliament, has already come to a humiliating end before the Constitutional Court once.

[Rabar] That is precisely why we are going to send the plan that we are drafting to the Constitutional Court first. Once this body has reached a decision, we are going to publish the plan for public debate, so everybody can give their opinion, and so we can take suggestions into account.

[NEPSZABADSAG] A lot is being said about the modification of the social system and the health system. In essence, the state hardly wants to carry on financing a series of free benefits. What can this country vouch for nowadays, what can it guarantee for its citizens?

[Rabar] Society will not take back the benefits that it has provided so far from the sections of the population who are insolvent, or who cannot raise the necessary funds from other sources. So, poor people are guaranteed to receive the same provisions as before, and the deductions will only affect the more "well off" sections of the population.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Will the planned steps be postponed due to the latest emergency break?

[Rabar] On the contrary, we will do everything to further the two prerequisites for growth—namely, the stability and convertibility of the forint. Quite correctly, the steps taken by previous governments tried to create a market economy, but the reform was dragged out over too long a period, and that proved to be a mistake. We have to take the last steps, which cannot be postponed any longer. So, we will maintain our strict monetary policy and the squeeze on credits and funds in order to help stabilize the forint. At the beginning of 1991, the CEMA price system will change and fuel prices will rise; all this will lead to a large-scale price increase, but after that, according to our plans, the squeeze on credits and funds will hinder inflation. We wish to encourage our citizens to save, and we will try to draw money into privatization. We will make the forint convertible for entrepreneurs, which will help combat an expected inflation. We will completely liberalize imports for both the state and private entrepreneurs. This would enable our economy to adapt to international market price relations, and that will be a determining factor for our future. I am convinced that the forint will be stable and convertible after that.

[NEPSZABADSAG] For several months, you did not appear in public, you did not make any statements about the government program; furthermore, according to some rumors, your resignation had even been mentioned after a series of arguments.

[Rabar] I will only make a statement about a program in which I can believe, and I will represent that program despite all the difficulties.

Economic Official on 1990-1991 Estimates

AU2410090290 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Oct 90 p 11

[Report on interview with Dr. Andras Vertes, head of the Institute of Economic Research, by Maria Lakatos; place and date not given: "The Institute of Economic Research Makes No Retractions"; first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Excerpts] The 1990-1991 prognosis published last week by the Institute of Economic Research sparked off several reactions. The estimate, which included 40 to 50 percent inflation rate figures, was judged as a campaign ploy by government representatives; on the other hand, the opposition saw the report as the objective forecast of an economic disaster. Dr. Andras Vertes laments the fact that it was not a professional debate that was sparked off.

[Lakatos] Many people saw the report you published at the beginning of October, which really did contain some startling figures, as some kind of tactical ploy before the elections.

[Vertes] That is nonsense. The prognosis was immediately met by political comments, and the contents of the prognosis were evaluated from a political point of view. I think that this is an unfortunate association of ideas. The Institute of Economic Research always publishes its prognosis for the following year in October, and this prognosis never serves political aims. We have always elaborated our analysis, which is then debated by government officials, of course. [passage omitted]

[Lakatos] Katalin Boros, the political state secretary of the Finance Ministry, said that your inflationary prognosis was a dangerous campaign ploy.

[Vertes] Her opinion reflects a mixture of political and professional counterarguments. From a professional point of view, we gave our estimate of inflationary factors. That was how we came to the conclusion that Hungary will accumulate a total deficit of $1.5 billion to $2 billion in 1991 because of the collapse of former CEMA trade, the deterioration in terms of trade, and the general slowing down of world economic growth. This more-or-less optimistic forecast only estimated that oil prices would lie at $26 to $28 per barrel. One of the conclusions of our research was that the current inflation rate could increase by 10 to 20 percent. According to the Finance Ministry, GDP may even fall by four or five percent, whereas we predict a three percent drop. Furthermore, I think that, from a professional point of view, it is unfounded to draw close links between the stagnation of inflation rates and the boom of private entrepreneurs. According to our observations so far, private entrepreneurs flourish in areas where they expect their capital to be refunded quickly, but in these branches, price increases are above average. My other comment is that it is not at all certain that an increase in ventures will solve our problems. There are illusions in this area too, although the current privatization concept does not give investors enough security, and thus, it does not guarantee quick progress. Moreover, our exaggerated state control made individual central interference possible through the State Property Agency. This has an exaggerated influence on privatization, and it slows down the privatization process.

[Lakatos] Eastern Europe's economic situation has fundamentally changed over the last few weeks. On the basis of this, perhaps you could elaborate a new forecast for 1991.

[Vertes] We do not usually prepare several forecasts in a year; however, if the government asked us to prepare a new forecast, then we would not refuse. Incidentally, I am personally also pessimistic about the future of Eastern European trade. In its essence, Hungarian-Soviet trade will be independent of government agreements, enterprises will have to find their own partners. Our governments will only have to decide on the mode of payment. I think, however, that Hungarian enterprise leaders should be made aware of the fact that there will be no central directives. I include the development of fuel prices, over which we have no control, among the external dangers that threaten the Hungarian economy, and the world economic recession has also begun. The interest rates of Hungary's outstanding debts are also expected to rise because credits are generally becoming more expensive, given that there is less money on the market. There is a simple explanation for this: Great creditors, such as Germany, have technically withdrawn from the market. [passage omitted]

Lithuanian President Landsbergis Pays Visit

Received by Goncz

LD2310114490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] Arpad Goncz, president of the Republic, has received the president of the Lithuanian parliament. Landsbergis has arrived in Hungary on an unoffical visit, to confer on the expansion of Lithuanian-Hungarian relations and to take part in the commemorations on the anniversary of the 1956 revolution.

After his arrival, the Lithuanian head of state said he would like to find out what the Hungarian leadership's standpoint was on the Baltic state's endeavors for independence.

Compares Lithuania, Hungary in 1956

LD2310141890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Interview with Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis by Istvan Erdelyi in Budapest; date not given; Landsbergis speaks in Lithuanian with superimposed Hungarian translation—recorded]

[Text] [Erdelyi] You are unveiling a wooden grave marker at plot No. 301 [in Budapest's Rakoskeresztur Cemetery]. You have been invited as a private person. How do you feel? What resemblance is there between the Hungarian people's revolution of 1956 and your struggle of today?

[Landsbergis] The tragic events of Hungary were falsified [felremagyaraz] in Lithuania, and in the Soviet Union as a whole. What happened in Hungary in 1956 in one or two weeks has been going on in our country, in Lithuania, for 50 years now; it has dragged on for 50 years. In Hungary the events, the revolution itself, began with the demonstration of the masses; furthermore, the fight, the struggle, of the masses was bloodily put down. In Lithuania, after the war—in 1944, 1945—an armed resistance broke out and this independence struggle, this armed resistance, lasted until 1952 in the forests of Lithuania. Later, our people's resistance broke to the surface in a different form, and the result of this is the point that we have now reached. It is a question of a struggle of several decades.

[Erdelyi] Did 1956 give you anything you have been able to use in your freedom struggle?

[Landsbergis] For us, 1956 was a very important example. After all, in your country, here in Hungary, both young people and grey-haired politicians sacrificed their lives for freedom. If we want to be free, if that is at issue, then we, too, can do no differently than you did in 1956.

Hong Kong Chinese To Be Allowed To Settle

AU2310111390 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 Oct 90 p 1

[Interview with Bela Torok, head of the Foreign Investments Department of the Prime Minister's Office, by "F.O"; place and date not given: "European Chinatown To Be Built in Hungary"—first two paragraphs are NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] A statement issued by the Press Office of the Prime Minister announced that the Hungarian Government had come to an agreement with the representative of the Hong Kong Investment (Eastern Europe) Limited Company.

In accordance with the agreement, investors from Hong Kong with the intention of settling in Hungary will bring lasting investments into Hungary, in accordance with international and domestic regulations. Individual investors will invest a minimum of $100,000 per capita.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Is there any real basis for Hong Kong businessmen to settle in Hungary?

[Torok] Yes, there is. The government signed an agreement which contains serious guarantees for the fact that we must first be paid, and then do something about relocation of the Hong Kong people. In other words, this whole thing will not cost us a penny.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Who guarantees this?

[Torok] The agreement signed between the aforementioned Hong Kong company and the Hungarian Government guarantees that real investments will have to precede any request for Hungarian citizenship.

[NEPSZABADSAG] How will we able to avoid the suspicion that, just like other countries, we are demanding money for the citizenship of each person?

[Torok] The aforementioned company agreed to make lasting investments in Hungary in order to promote lasting settlement. We, therefore, are not asking for money to allow them to come here, but we are asking them to establish an adequate basis for existence once they arrive. The investors themselves, rather than the government, will enjoy the profits, and the population will have job opportunities and better services.

[NEPSZABADSAG] How will we benefit from all this?

[Torok] Lasting working capital will pour into Hungary, and—given the fact that they will be Hungarian citizens—these people will not take the money out either.

[NEPSZABADSAG] How many people are we talking about, and where will they live?

[Torok] This is still to be determined. A delegation will arrive from Hong Kong soon and it will look around the country to find out where they can settle in Hungary and under what conditions.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Did you succeed in weeding out the swindlers?

[Torok] According to the agreement, the aforementioned Hong Kong company agreed that only people who really have enough money to settle and invest in Hungary will be able to make use of this opportunity.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Will it be not strange to have Asians living and investing here?

[Torok] On the contrary. We will have the first real Chinatown in Europe. If the developed world has got used to them, we will not have any trouble with these Chinese people either, people who mostly live in closed communities. The people from Hong Kong want to live in peace and engage in ventures here, rather than mix with us.

Mazowiecki Heads Council of Ministers Debates

LD2410013690 Warsaw PAP in English 2155 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 23—Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki presided over the debates of the Council of Ministers which met here today to discuss pay claims and other postulates put forward by the National Commission of Solidarity of Miners and Solidarity Trade Unions in the Polish Motor Transport, City Transport and Sea Ports.

The Council of Ministers told the ministers concerned to immediately give answers to the trade union organizations and to take up talks concerning the postulates which are possible to meet. The meeting by the government of pay demands would undermine the results in stiffling inflation and would threaten market equilibrium.

The Council of Ministers discussed draft regulations to military conscription with a particular focus on the controversy concerning drafting conscripts, who are the only supporters of the family.

The Council of Ministers got acquainted with the report put forward by the Minister of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewsi on the course and results of his Soviet trip.

Vice-Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz reported on his visit to Italy.

Next, the debaters paid much attention to the foundations of the functioning of the contemporary stock market, including guarantees of the safety of the turnover of bonds.

The Council of Ministers adopted a draft law on public turnover of bonds and trustee funds. The draft aims to solve the principles of the functioning of the bond market and organizational structures that are new in our conditions: a commission for bonds, a bonds exchange and an association of bonds dealers.

The Council of Ministers also heard Vice-Prime Minister Jan Janowskis' report on the summit meeting of the heads of states and governments devoted to children which had been attended by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki. The meeting was held in New York City late last September.

The government found it right to appoint an interministerial team for the coordination of works dictated by the principles of the convention of the childs rights.

Mazowiecki on Military Draft Order

LD2310193690 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Magdalena Winiarczyk report on the Council of Ministers meeting on 23 October, including recorded statement by Prime Minister Mazowiecki]

[Text] Government members were briefed [at the meeting] on the results of the visits of Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski to the Soviet Union and Deputy Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz to Italy.

However, later, the problem of drafting the sole supporter of a family for basic military service was on the agenda. We have no solutions to this matter. However, Prime Minister Mazowiecki decided to speak about it, regarding this problem as very important. Why is the order to draft the sole breadwinner of a family for military service being suspended?

[Begin Mazowiecki recording] I raised the problem to be examined by the Council of Ministers again. The matter is complicated, but important for the public, as the public feeling is that these rights have hitherto been used here and now it would seem as if these rights are being removed, or, let us say, are being questioned. That was cause enough to take this up. If it is a question of the order of the national defense minister on this matter, it was a result—as the minister explained to me—of the length of military service having been reduced. Following discussion on my recommendation, the Council of Ministers decided to suspend the order of the Ministry of National Defense for the moment. However, the Council of Ministers will soon start to examine the problem of Poland's defense system, and against this backdrop it will return to this matter, while maintaining the protection of the sole supporter, also from the viewpoint of a more concise and precise definition of who the sole supporter is. [end recording]

Balcerowicz Seen as Possible Prime Minister

LD2410083190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Jaroslaw Kaczynski, the leader of the Center Alliance, during a meeting at Lodz University, did not rule out the function of prime minister being entrusted to Leszek Balcerowicz following the victory of Lech Walesa in the presidential elections, reports RZECZPOSPOLITA. He regarded Andrzej Slowik from Lodz as a potential successor to Walesa in Solidarity.

Mazowiecki Holds Election Meeting in Poznan

AU2310121690 Warsaw PAP in English 2215 GMT 19 Oct 90

[Text] Poznan, Oct. 19—"I am in favour of acceleration but a safe one because if the car skids over owing to too high speed, we will arrive at our target later," stated Tadeusz Mazowiecki on the first day of his pre-electoral meetings in Poznan today.

"The tremendous contribution of work and sacrifice of the recent months is too big a value to place it at risk in the name of impatience, which by the way is quite understandable," he said.

During a meeting of the union of Wielkopolska residents at Poznan University, Mazowiecki also said: "In this region people know the value of work. Rebuilding the economy is work which will last for years. In the last 13 months we have posted a 20-fold lowering of inflation, achieved covertibility and market balance, in other words a state which we have not had for two generations.

"The philosophy of my government... is one of progress through the solution of problems and not loudly speaking about them. Promising work for everyone, high wages and at the same time plentiful supplies stands for deception," the prime minister pointed out.

At a press conference here Mazowiecki said that the staging of a few TV debates with his and Lech Walesa's participation might be very useful. "It would be the best if we had two televised meetings, one on Poland's foreign policy and other other on the internal policy with special regard to economic issues," he said.

Jaruzelski Firmly Declines Presidential Nomination

LD2310192890 Warsaw PAP in English 1837 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 23—Polish president's press spokesman issued a statement today to the effect that Jaruzelski had no intention of running for the presidency again.

In view of the flood of cables and letters we keep on receiving here in which President Wojciech Jaruzelski is urged to take part in the forthcoming elections, we should like to inform the public that the president has never seriously considered and does not intend to consider such a possibility, said the spokesman.

However, says the release, Wojciech Jaruzelski is deeply grateful for the words of respect and friendship addressed to him from the public.

Views of Minor Presidential Candidates Presented

AU2410103990 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 19 Oct 90 p 5

[Report by Agnieszka Kublik: "Rivals of Mazowiecki and Walesa"]

[Text] If we are to believe what presidential candidates are saying, then Walesa will not be the only man to win; several others will win as well.

"Our program suits most people. All we have to do is talk to them," claims Leszek Moczulski. "If I can manage to get through to society via the media, I will win this election," says Kornel Morawiecki. "My candidacy seems to me to be the best one," Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz told journalists. "I will get 75 percent of the votes," boasts Boleslaw Tejkowski.

Speaking about Polish Peasant Party Chairman Roman Bartoszcze, one of the party's National Executive Committee members, said: "I realize our candidate will certainly lose, but perhaps it is good to stir things up."

Janusz Korwin-Mikke ("Walesa is the only one who counts") and Leszek Moczulski ("I have a chance of coming third") both hope to win third place.

"I am not concerned with victory, but with the chance to present my program for rescuing Poland," says Stan Tyminski.

Apart from the candidates that have been nominated by parties and unions, there are four independent candidates as well. Jan Ludwik Bratoszewski describes himself as a "great independent candidate who is uniting the nation."

Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz is another independent candidate, but for half his life he was very much dependent on the Polish United Workers Party as a member of it. TRYBUNA says of him: "He is a bold, independent candidate, free of nomenklatura habits and separate from all deals."

Another independent candidate is Stan Tyminski, who presents himself thus: "Politically, I am not wearing any particular color, but all the colors of the rainbow. I am neither left, nor right, nor center."

The fourth independent candidate, Edward Mizikowski (he announced his candidature on 17 October) "does not want to waste the chance that has appeared before him."

Moczulski, who "dreams of a great Poland," promises to "restore the Republic's honor and dignity, making it a country to be proud of." Poland will be "independent" if he becomes president.

Morawiecki, on the other hand, does not merely promise to restore the country's dignity. "I commit myself to restoring the independence of the Republic, the enfranchisement of the people, and an efficient economy. I will be an honest and responsible president. My aim is a free, independent, democratic, and prosperous Poland," we read in his election handout.

Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki "will base everything he does on a respect for human rights, just as he has done until now." Cimoszewicz is campaigning for the sake of "tomorrow's Poland." The great independent Bratoszewski wants to "bring the Poles together and heave Poland out of the economic quagmire," and says: "I bring love, unity, and mutual respect to my people."

Twenty years ago, Stan Tyminski, a citizen of Poland, Canada, and Peru, left Poland so that he can now return to it and "create a system of common sense, a Poland that can guarantee a prosperous future for the children of its citizens."

Polish National Party candidate Boleslaw Tejkowski wants to create a real Poland for real Poles.

"If you want a candidate capable of guaranteeing Poland a continuity of the reforms, vote for me," says Janusz Brzyczkowski of the Polish Green Party.

Jozef Onoszko, another "ecological" candidate, wants to turn Poland into an agrarian-tourist country, with particular emphasis on ecological agriculture."

"In accordance with culture and good custom," Cimoszewicz was reluctant to speak about his rivals, but he did say that "the concept of a presidency with special powers is a danger to the democratic system."

"Walesa and Mazowiecki belong to the same camp," claims Morawiecki, adding: "After all, Walesa wants to do the same as Mazowiecki, only with the use of an axe." He thinks Walesa is the more dangerous of the two.

Janusz Korwin-Mikke says that "Mazowiecki is not a serious candidate in this election. Only Walesa counts." Moczulski feels Walesa will win.

"I cannot afford to make personal remarks about other candidates. That is not ethical," says Stan Tyminski.

Center Alliance Explains New Political Vocabulary

PM2410101390 Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 28 Sep 90 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Jaroslaw Kaczynski, leader of Center Alliance coalition and TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC chief editor, by GAZETA KRAKOWSKA correspondent Ryszard Rybus; place and date not given]

[Text] [Rybus] The Center Alliance group has created its own vocabulary of political terms. How would you define the term "acceleration," which is a key word in your program?

[Kaczynski] We can talk about two meanings of the term here. The direct interpretation is that acceleration simply means a quickened pace of the transformations now taking place in Poland—transformations which are aimed at achieving democracy and a market economy. To give you an example, Jaruzelski's decision to step down early, which is a success that can be credited to us, was an instance of such "acceleration." But the term also has another, deeper meaning. To put it briefly, "acceleration" is a motto which reflects the thesis of the urgent need to effect a social reconstruction operation in Poland. In other words, it highlights the impossibility of achieving a market economy and a democratic system on the basis of the existing social infrastructure. It is necessary to carry out a certain leveling of the social substructure of these processes. In concrete terms, this involves the need to check the progress of the phenomenon described as the enfranchisement of the nomenklatura—which is feasible only up to a certain point, since it cannot be canceled altogether if we apply only lawful methods, as we fully intend to do—and also to counteract the pathological processes associated with the rise of the new middle class.

[Rybus] Here is the other ubiquitous key word: the "nomenklatura." Who is included in the definition of nomenklatura? Who actually belongs to it?

[Kaczynski] "Nomenklatura" is not a term invented by the Center Alliance, or by anyone in Poland. It was invented by a Russian author in order to describe the specific group, and at the same time the specific organizational structure which ruled in the Soviet Union and the countries which were at that time described as socialist. It embraced the party apparatus and the group of people holding directing positions in enterprises and the administration sector of the public life. At a certain point in time persons belonging this social group began to diverge from their role as leading communist activists whose brief was to put a certain ideological concept into practice—albeit not without enjoying certain associated personal privileges, such as, for example, the exclusive right to use the famed "yellow-drape stores" during the Stalinist era—and to dominate the emerging nonsocialized sector, thus laying the foundations for the rise of the new middle class while preserving the original internal connections. It will be impossible to build any new system without first demolishing this entire structure.

[Rybus] What could this campaign against the nomenklatura involve today, considering that the political apparatus has been institutionally abolished already?

[Kaczynski] It will certainly not be a struggle against ghosts: It will be a struggle against persons who once belonged to the apparatus and are today officials or employees in other institutions....

[Rybus] ...or who are already retired....

[Kaczynski] ...or who are retired—though we have no intention whatever of fighting those people. The point at issue here is to fight against certain social structures—and even here we mean not to fight individual people but rather to struggle for the demolition of the whole structure. What is actually at stake here? Thanks to a system of legalized but totally nonequivalent exchange, many individuals have now taken possession of a considerable proportion of the former state assets. Others continue in the capacity of managers of large economic entities, which operate on the basis of the old forms of ownership; moreover, it frequently happens that the same person holds both functions. These two types of arrangements combine to create a system which is not accepted by society and which is, moreover, economically inefficient. The old system of informal economic connections, which indirectly contributed to the destruction of communism, persists today—but today it hinders any active operation of market economy laws. We need to do away with this entire system. How can this be done? First of all, through making extensive changes in all managerial and administrative positions in the part of the economy which is still under state control (and it is still a very large part); second, through a process which will restore—also retroactively—the principle of equivalent compensation. All companies which took over state assets free of charge, or partly free of charge, and are able to make the appropriate repayment will be entitled to keep those assets; those which cannot pay their debt will have to return them. We already have a legal basis for taking such action.

[Rybus] Let me ask you one more question connected with the nomenklatura, albeit this time referring to its historical aspect. As chief editor of the trade union paper TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC, were you not surprised to see Mieczyslaw Jagielski, a representative par excellence of the then nomenklatura, playing a leading role during the celebrations of Solidarity's 10th anniversary, while such genuine workers' leaders as Zbigniew Bujak or Wladyslaw Frasyniuk were not visible and such figures as, say, Adam Michnik, were kept away from the limelight?

[Kaczynski] Perhaps I should begin by answering the last charge. Bujak was present at the ceremony. I sat next to him. Michnik did not take part, but that was his choice. In any case, Michnik did not play so great a role in the events of 10 years ago. To begin with, he was very skeptical in his attitude to the great social movement that Solidarity represented; he believed—as was his right—that a model of social and political transformations similar to that applicable back in 1956 would have been more appropriate. He did join the Solidarity movement and brought into it his considerable energy and dedication and he did play an important role in it, but that was several weeks—or even months—after the crucial time. But this is just an aside. He was nor present during Solidarity's anniversary celebrations because he did not want to be there. Just as many others who were invited did not come. As regards Jagielski's presence, that has to do with Lech Walesa's nostalgic feelings for the past. To Walesa, the events of 10 years ago represent not merely a great moment in the past—for that is what they represent to all those who took part in them—but a monumental, watershed experience of his entire life: the moment when he was transformed from just another shipyard trade union activists, plagued by a very difficult personal situation (six children and frequent periods of unemployment), to a leader on an international scale. Within a matter of days he became famous throughout the entire world. And Jagielski was his negotiating partner then.

[Rybus] You often stress in your interviews—as, for instance, in the one you gave to issue No. 7 of KONFRONTACJE, that Walesa and his program constitute a guarantee against Poland's "Latinization." On the other hand, we have come across statements which propound exactly the opposite thesis. Are we not in danger of a "Peronist" manner of political rule—the rule of a strong individual drawing his support from the trade unions?

[Kaczynski] Peronism was a political system and a political movement which is still active and prevalent in Argentina today. In my opinion, it arose from a political structure which was—to a certain degree—analogous to the political structure taking shape in Poland today. It was a form of capitalism where the genuine market laws and forces were not allowed to break through. If we were to continue, here in Poland, the political and social philosophy as represented by, say, Prime Minister Mazowiecki, the danger of Peronism could certainly arise. However, it is not so much connected with Walesa's person as with certain social phenomena present here at the moment.

[Rybus] There can be no Peronism without the phenomenon of a charismatic leader.

[Kaczynski] This is true, but Walesa is very deliberately opposed to a continuation of the present policy. We can be absolutely certain that he intends to abolish the existing system. He wants to be president—but within democratic structures. He has his own, well-defined vision of a democratic system within which the various political forces balance each other out. The Center Alliance is only one of those; in any case, we are not at all interested in being the presidential party. And Lech Walesa has every right to perceive his role in monumental terms: The past 10 years have given him that right. But he certainly does not see his role as a populist leader. You need to give more careful thought to his speeches and addresses—even the sharply controversial ones, when, for example, he talks about the need to dissolve Solidarity. This is certainly an extremely controversial move. But what is really at stake here? He knows that in certain circumstances Solidarity—as a trade union structure—could take a stand opposing the changes, whereas—to put it in simple terms—he is a determined advocate of capitalism. His firm belief in capitalism has not come from a study of relevant books: It grew from his personal experience. He spent 20 years on the factory floor. I remember how some time ago, in the old era of clandestine activity, during a Provisional Coordinating Commission meeting he told us that all his life's experience had led him to the firm conviction that there was no chance of introducing any economic order whatever into the existing system. No amount of credit would help, either. The reason for this was simply that the internal mechanisms of the system were all mutually contradictory. Any credit would inevitably be embezzled at either the top or the bottom level. There is no possibility of repairing the existing system: It must be completely changed. And here we can all count on his unswerving determination. On the other hand, he professes a principle which he has always implemented in a very adroit manner: If you want to stop a runaway horse, you must first run with it to have a chance of mounting and controlling it. And this is how these matters should be viewed.

Further Indictment on Priest's Murder 'Likely'

AU2310153690 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 20-21 Oct 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The Dock Was Too Small—Prosecutor Herzog on Investigations Into the Father Popieluszko Case"]

[Text] "The dock during the trial of those responsible for the killing of Father Popieluszko was too small. Although we still have a long way to go to the end of the investigations, I am sure other people will sit in the dock, whatever their former position," Deputy Prosecutor General Aleksander Herzog told GAZETA on Friday.

"I cannot say right now whether the only new people to sit in the dock will be the two men arrested on 8 October: General Wladyslaw Ciaston, former vice minister of internal affairs, and former director of department four General Zenon Platek. The matter must be investigated to the full.

"Very extensive evidence has been gathered, and many witnesses have been interrogated, including Adam Pietruszka and Grzegorz Piotrowski, who are serving their sentences, plus others who have already given evidence during the previous trial.

"I have asked the interior minister to release former and present interior ministry employees who are due to be interrogated from the duty to keep official secrets.

"The ruling by the Warsaw Voivodship Court, which is independent of the prosecutor's office, proves that the material that has been gathered may provide valuable evidence. After reviewing three volumes of files, on 12 October the Court rejected Ciaston's application to be released from custody, and ruled that he should remain there.

"I cannot forejudge the issue before the investigations are over, so I cannot yet say whether an indictment will be issued, but it is very likely that it will."

Balcerowicz Interviewed on Economic Development

AU2210102390 Vienna PROFIL in German
22 Oct 90 p 60

[Interview with Polish Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz, by Jacek Kubiak in Warsaw; date not given: "One Million Unemployed"]

[Text] [Kubiak] Mr. Minister, do you see any success after 10 months of your work to improve the economy?

[Balcerowicz] We managed to lower the monthly inflation rate from 70 percent in January to two percent in August. Then, in September, the inflation rate rose again to 4.5 percent because of outside upheavals. The second positive effect is the elimination of the goods shortage. The third success is the convertibility of the zloty at a stable rate. The fourth achievement is the 30-percent export surplus, even on the demanding Western markets.

[Kubiak] The price of success was the paralysis of production, the profound recession of 30 percent.

[Balcerowicz] Only the historians will find out whether the costs could have been lower. I do not think so. The figure of 30 percent, which is circulating in public, is not correct. It applies only to the beginning of the year and only to the state sector. In the overall economy the decline of production is 15 to 16 percent. Since July there have been signs of an upswing in industry. In agriculture we have record yields this year.

[Kubiak] But nothing happens in the state sector.

[Balcerowicz] This is an exaggeration. One section of the enterprises is trying to gain time and to delay the adjustment to the new realities. On the other hand, unemployment is lower than should have been expected as a result of this decline in production. No one knows the level of the maximum unemployment rate that would be tolerated by society. Now we have six to seven percent unemployed. In Spain the unemployment rate is almost 20 percent; nevertheless, the social situation there is stable.

[Kubiak] At an election rally in the course of the campaign for the presidential elections, Lech Walesa promised that he would give every Pole 100 million zloty ($10,000) so that the citizens can buy shares in privatized enterprises.

[Balcerowicz] I hope this was just allegory. This idea of vouchers is acceptable to a limited degree. It is contained in the law on privatization.

[Kubiak] Which outside factors are causing problems for you?

[Balcerowicz] The crisis in the Gulf region, the decline of exports to Germany as a result of the reunification, and the new situation in the East. Many transactions with the Soviet Union already have to be conducted in hard currency. Therefore, the West should now help us to finally reduce our debts. Since the outbreak of the Gulf crisis this is absolutely necessary.

[Kubiak] Are our neighbors from the former East Bloc not adjusting better to the new situation?

[Balcerowicz] In the former GDR the shock of the changes and the discrepancy between the centralized economy and the market system was even greater. But the fall was broken by the FRG. In our country it is more difficult.

[Kubiak] The situation in the CSFR seems to be more stable than in Poland.

[Balcerowicz] The CSFR has a better economic situation, lower debts, a lower inflation rate, the market is more stable. Its system is, however, more centralized. As far as I know, there have not been any big changes in the CSFR over the past nine months. They still have to carry out the difficult changes that we already have behind us. The assessment of the world press that the situation there is more stable will change. The Hungarians, on the other hand, had a better system, which was more oriented toward a market economy. However, the extent of the changes is smaller than in Poland. They have overtaken us as regards the tax system by introducing value added tax. In some respects, however, we have overtaken the Hungarians because they have not yet achieved the internal convertibility of the currency—as we have. I also think that the liberalization of foreign trade and of prices is more advanced in our country.

[Kubiak] The opponents of presidential candidate Lech Walesa think that his political radicalism will destabilize the political situation and deter Western investors.

[Balcerowicz] This question must be answered by the Western investors themselves. I hope that they will see that in Poland a system is developing where political rhetoric has its limits. On the other hand, a politician should know that his words are understood as a signal.

[Kubiak] Can you imagine continuing your work under President Walesa?

[Balcerowicz] I hope that the things that we have already achieved will not be lost. There should be continuity regardless of the political conditions.

[Kubiak] In the Western press you are considered a "tough saver." In the meantime you have been making concessions under pressure from Walesa's opposition. You are distributing election candy.

[Balcerowicz] I do not agree.

[Kubiak] The wage raises are higher than the price hikes, the money in circulation is increasing more quickly than production. Will inflation return?

[Balcerowicz] This is the greatest danger, and has to be avoided.

[Kubiak] What does the "social market economy," which is in the government program, mean to you?

[Balcerowicz] It is not in the program.

[Kubiak] But Mazowiecki uses the term.

[Balcerowicz] It means that the driving forces of the market are not restricted and that, at the same time, social side-effects are mitigated. In politics the term has the advantage that it can be interpreted in different ways.

Privatization Draft for Communications Sector

AU2310210390 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA Economy and Law Section in Polish 18 Oct 90 p 1

["A.K."-signed report: "Posts and Telecommunications—The Spectrum up for Auction"]

[Text] How extensive should the demonopolization of the Polish Postal and Telecommunication Service be? Nobody has any serious disagreements with the contention that the state should not have sole responsibility for this sector. However, there is no consensus on the extent the proposed changes should assume or on the issue of economic participation by various enterprises interested in this sector. The government's proposals of statutory regulation of this sector have not proved popular with the Sejm. The result was the creation of a Sejm subcommission to prepare a bill which would amend the present law on communications.

The draft document submitted by the deputies is more far-reaching in its scope to make fundamental structural changes in this sector and puts forward more liberal solutions of specific issues, said Deputy Kazimierz Czerwinski. The state would continue to control the enterprises involved in telecommunications by retaining the right to grant licenses allowing such enterprises to carry on economic activity in this sector. Behind this idea is the need to protect the state's interests and the general interests of the economy, in order to avoid "technical chaos." The draft proposal gives interested enterprises the opportunity to enter this market.

For example, in the radio and television communication sector, any excess capacity that remains after certain public bodies such as Polish Radio and Television have been allocated the necessary air time to maintain their services, could be auctioned off and become subject to market forces.

Postal services should remain the domain of the Polish Postal Service, with the proviso that the area of mail transport could be opened up to competition between interested enterprises. Charges for mail services would still be controlled by the government, which would retain the right to fix cost ceilings for the provision of normal services. Competitive prices below these ceilings could, however, be set individually by any interested enterprise which sought to compete to supply these services. The Polish Postal Service would also retain its monopoly position in relation to international mail.

From these proposals it appears that anyone who has the inclination and the money can enter the telecommunications market, for example, the provision of local telephone service networks and the installation of telephone links in towns, districts, and regions. Participation in "intercity" telephone services would, however, continue to be restricted. This is dictated by the overriding national interest of retaining "control over communications." For this very reason, unlimited Polish capital participation is encouraged, whereas foreign capital would be limited to a maximum participation of 49 percent. The same principle is to apply in international communications. Polish capital participation can be unlimited, whereas foreign capital will be restricted to a maximum of 49 percent.

Deputy Kazimierz Czerwinski said that these provisions will be welcomed by foreign investors who wish to participate in the development of the Polish telecommunication sector.

Communications Official on Private Broadcasting

AU2410092590 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 19 Oct 90 p 4

[Interview with Vice Minister of Communications Marek Rusin, by Grzegorz Gorny; place and date not given: "A Retuning of the Ether"]

[Text] [Gorny] How much longer will the state enjoy its monopoly over radio and television?

[Rusin] Until the new act comes into force. The bill was placed before the Sejm as far back as May, but the issue has been dragging on. Fortunately, the first reading in parliament is expected in a few days' time.

[Gorny] I have heard that the act is being impeded by a monopolist who wants to expand a network of local stations and capture the local commercials market before any competitors appear.

[Rusin] I cannot confirm that. I simply do not know what is holding the Sejm back. However, a de facto state monopoly no longer exists. We have already agreed that several other stations may operate on an experimental basis, for example Radio-Gazeta, Radio Solidarity, or Echo Television.

[Gorny] There seems to have been trouble with the latter recently.

[Rusin] The whole problem is that by rejecting the anachronistic rule about monopolies, we are moving in a legislative vacuum. When there are no rules, the only thing in force is a gentleman's agreement. Echo Television has broken that agreement by moving its transmitter to a different place and increasing its strength. We accept this fait accompli because there are no new rules.

[Gorny] When we do get these rules, how many television stations will we have?

[Rusin] Many letters of application have reached the ministry. There are about 300 people willing to set up radio networks, including 10 national ones, and 100 people willing to set up television stations.

[Gorny] Who do these people represent?

[Rusin] Everyone, from the Catholic Church to blatant commercialism. They include Poles, Hungarians, Radio Luxembourg, Radio Free Europe....

[Gorny] But not everyone will receive permission.

[Rusin] Today we are in a position to set up about 22 radio networks, including six national ones and about 16 local ones. As far as television is concerned, we are capable of having four national networks and three local ones.

[Gorny] Why not more?

[Rusin] Poland is small, and the "ether" is not made of rubber. Any radio or television channel will be treated just like a piece of commercial hardware. To use it, the consumer will pay the state a small sum of money. The state however, since it is taking this money, has to guarantee that the channel will be free of interference. That is why it is not possible to set up any more stations than that.

[Gorny] And there is no possibility of creating more stations?

[Rusin] We are already availing ourselves of such a possibility. We are switching to new wavebands for UHF-FM radio programs, in other words 88-108 megahertz, which is used in the West. The present 66-73 megahertz band is an anachronism used only in the "eastern bloc." The new band will have three times the number of channels, and will also be less susceptible to interference. So far, every single receiver imported from the West has had to be retuned. Now it will be the other way round, Polish receivers will be retuned to Western wavebands. Of course, this will not take place overnight. For the next five to 10 years, stations will continue to broadcast on the old waveband, but any new station will be located on the new waveband. One reason for this is to encourage as many listeners as possible to adjust their receivers. I think the old waveband will be completely withdrawn in 10 years' time.

[Gorny] Which band will Polish Radio broadcast on?

[Rusin] The old and the new at the same time. I think that, given the choice, people will prefer commercial stations, broadcast on new channels.

[Gorny] But who will be granted these channels if the number of applicants is several times higher than the number of channels?

[Rusin] This will be decided in a contest set by the national Broadcasting Council, Ministry of Communications, and Ministry of Culture and Art. Those who thematically and financially have the best offers (e.g. a sports channel) will win. I fear that those people or bodies with western capital have the greatest chances of success. They will even be able to afford to run television for nothing over a few months, for until such time as the commercials market has developed, it will be necessary to subsidize these stations. I hope the conditions of the contest will permit Polish program makers to win.

[Gorny] What about those who lose?

[Rusin] They will be able to set up cable channels. I see no restrictions here. There can even be 1,000 television networks.

[Gorny] But first there must be a law.

[Rusin] Exactly. I hope the legislative process will proceed without delay once the Sejm has passed this act.

Article Views RSW Liquidation Debate

AU2210200190 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

[Tomasz Roguski article: "The RSW Liquidation Storm"]

[Text] On 19 October, Krzysztof Krol, one of the leaders of the Confederation for an Independent Poland, will become editor in chief of SZTANDAR MLODYCH following a decision made by the "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" Workers' Cooperative Publishing House [RSW] Liquidation Commission. The journalists at SZTANDAR have said that they will not accept their new chief.

In a letter addressed to Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, journalists working for SZTANDAR MLODYCH, GAZETA BANKOWA, GAZETA SAMORZADOWA, ZARZADZANIE, NA PRZELAJ, and NOWY DETEKTYW wrote: "We are concerned about the efforts being made by political parties and movements to take over former RSW assets and titles." In their opinion, the appointment of Krzysztof Krol to the post of editor in chief of SZTANDAR MLODYCH would mean placing the title at the disposal of a concrete political grouping. They believe that personnel changes in the press field should be made once the RSW ownership changes have been completed. They described the liquidation commission's decision as "illegal."

It would appear that the concern's liquidators have been faced with demands that cannot be reconciled. New political parties and groupings want to be allocated press titles. Journalists who have formed cooperatives want to receive the publications that they work for. Deputy Stefan Niesiolowski and a group of his colleagues are doing everything possible to have the activities of the RSW Liquidation Commission examined by the Supreme Chamber of Control. The RSW liquidation plan is waiting to be examined by the government, but if, on 18 October, the deputies on the Sejm Culture and Mass Media Commission and the Administration and Internal Affairs Commission support the Deputy Stefan Niesiolowski's demands, decisions concerning the future of RSW assets will not be made for another few months.

Other political groups are also putting pressure on the RSW liquidators. For a long time now, the Center Accord has been trying to take over the Warsaw evening paper EXPRESS WIECZORNY. The issue is raised every few weeks. The journalists working for EXPRESS have formed a cooperative and want to be given the newspaper. They have been protesting about the "press Magdalenka," which, they say, means that politicians will decide on the allocation of newspapers behind the backs of journalists. They cite the law on the liquidation of the RSW to support their arguments. They maintain that "the relevant law unequivocally accords newspapers employees who have formed cooperatives priority in acquiring newspapers."

The commission does not believe this to be true. The law on the liquidation of the RSW does not envisage a preferential status for journalists' cooperatives. According to Article 5 of the law, "publishing houses and other organizational units... and components thereof can be transferred to labor cooperatives." However, the liquidator is under no obligation whatsoever to propose this kind of solution to the Council of Ministers, which is legally bound to ratify the whole cooperative liquidation plan.

Members of cooperatives accuse the liquidator of opportunism. Employees at EXPRESS WIECZORNY maintain that he is seeking to dispel the charges that the government is monopolizing the media on the eve of the presidential elections. Journalists at SZTANDAR MLODYCH have decided that: "In any case, we will not agree to a feudal transaction that involves making a gift of a newspaper and its assets along with the people working for it, especially as treating us in this way would violate the Sejm law of 22 March on the liquidation of the RSW."

The liquidation of the RSW was a political decision. The existence of the concern, which grouped together most of the Polish press and was subordinated to the postcommunist party, was an anachronism. When the liquidation was announced, the loudest protests cane from the RSW's presidents, who had been running the Polish press for years. Allocating titles to cooperatives would in most cases mean retaining those connected with the nomenklatura arrangements of the Polish People's Republic years.

According to Andrzej Notkowski, the RSW Liquidation Commission spokesman, the structure of the Polish press must correspond to arrangement of political forces in society. The commission is not seeking to establish a new monopoly, but is trying to bring the Polish press more into line with the arrangement of forces. There is no doubt that many of its decisions will prompt protests from various groups and communities.

The liquidation commission is also not favorably disposed toward the idea of cooperatives for economic reasons. The commission believes that "forming cooperatives" runs counter to the direction of the ownership changes taking place in the economy, which is geared toward reviving private property as the basic form of ownership. Newspapers elsewhere in the world are, as a rule, published by companies or private publishers. The transfer of publications to cooperatives will also mean that the institutions envisaged by the law on cooperatives will be imposed on the existing structure of authority, from the editor in chief downward, that is, institutions such as the members general assembly, the supervisory board, and the board of directors. This kind of structure will cause conflicts and will place the editor in chief in a very difficult position.

Nevertheless, the plan for the concern's liquidation envisages the transfer of several dozen publications to journalists cooperatives. The remainder, apart from a small number that are to be taken over by the state treasury, are to be auctioned off. The offers that are made will be considered from the social and not just the economic angle. This is because the way in which the liquidation of the RSW is carried out will to a large extent determine the information order in Poland for the next few years.

Government Spokesman's 19 Oct News Conference

AU2310142090 Warsaw PAP in English 1700 GMT 19 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct.19—"Complaints forwarded by Belorussia concerning alleged discrimination against the Belorussian minority in Poland are groundless," said Polish Government spokesman Malgorzata Niezabitowska at a news conference here today.

[Passage indistinct] humanitarian questions formed the third group of issues discussed during the visit [by Foreign Minister Skubiszewski to the Soviet Union]. Niezabitowska said that the Soviet side will speed up the opening of border-crossings in Dorohusk and Kuznica and will open an inquiry into the recent cases of beatings of Polish tourists by Soviet border guards.

A group of experts representing both sides is to meet in Moscow on October 25 to prepare a new draft of an agreement on travel, which would eliminate the invitation requirement. The Soviet side expressed its consent for the opening of a centre of Polish culture in Kokcetav, northern Kazakhstan.

The authorities of individual Soviet republics obtained a number of hitherto "central" powers, including decisions on the opening of new Polish consulates, the recovery by the Catholic Church of its property, the introduction of the Polish language as supplementary to the official language and the teaching of the Polish language in schools.

Niezabitowska told newsmen that the USSR's general prosecutor's office decided that all matters linked with the exhumation and the inquiry into the imprisonment and the murdering of Polish officers and soldiers in Starobielsk, Ostashzkov and Kozhelsk, as well as in Katyn and near Kharkov will be taken over by the USSR's chief military prosecutor's office. The case will be in the the hands of prosecutor Colonel Tretetski under the supervision of General Boriskin.

Niezabitowska rejected allegations according to which there is discrimination of Byelorussians in Poland and recalled that that community has some 200,000 people who live in the Bialystok and Biala Podlaska Voivodships.

She said that Belorussian social and cultural societies, the publishing of the NIVA weekly and of Belorussian-language books, and festivals of Belorussian songs and theatrical troupes were financed through the Polish state budget. This year, the subsidies for those purposes will total 2,647 million zlotys, Niezabitowska said, and added that the Belorussian language has been taught in 45 primary and 2 secondary schools. The latter were operating in Poland even at the time when there was not a single school in Minsk (Belorussia's capital) where they taught Belorussian.

Every day a radio-station in Bialystok airs a Belorussian programme. Candidates forwarded by the Belorussian political party called the Belorussian Democratic Union won the majority of mandates in elections for local governments in six districts of the Bialystok Voivodship.

Asked about measures against the "Polish plague" (street trade) when German visas are abolished, Niezabitowska said that customs inspections would be more strict. Referring to the negotiations with Germany concerning also the sales in Poland of cars stolen in the FRG, she said that policemen of the two countries had started cooperation in this field and added that Interpol has been involved in the matter. The first results are already visible.

The present negotiations concern also Poles who work on contracts in West Germany. The latest figures speak of 46,000. The present limit is 11,000.

Niezabitowska said that of half of the 8,000 enterprises inspected, 4,000 had been involved in the establishing of companies and legal regulations were violated in 75 cases. The justice minister has so far lodged 234 appeals to the Supreme Court concerning cases of the registration of the so-called "nomenklatura" companies. The court has rejected 90 per cent of the appeals.

Niezabitowska told reporters that a special commission had been appointed four months ago to examine motions concerning the return of lands and buildings taken away from the Roman Catholic Church. Some 1,000 motions have been put forward so far and every day brings another ten of them. There are 482 motions being examined at the moment. The commission has managed so far to arrange nine agreements between the church and the present owners of lands and buildings. So far, in three cases the church's claims have been rejected.

Eastern Policy To Be Judged on Results

AU2210151490 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 17 Oct 90 p 7

[Jerzy Stankiewicz commentary: "A Difficult Start"]

[Text] As predicted, Foreign Minister Skubiszewski's talks in Moscow, Kiev, and Minsk, were not easy. Poland does not intend to interfere in the internal affairs of the USSR or its individual republics, repeatedly stressed Minister Skubiszewski. However, it has to draw the appropriate conclusions from the changes that are taking place beyond Poland's eastern borders. The declarations of sovereignty made by the various Soviet republics have created the preconditions for the establishment of direct contacts. Additionally, Belorussia and the Ukraine are also UN members. Parallel discussions are being conducted with the Soviet Government. The new and active Polish eastern policy is thus a parallel-track policy. This approach can create additional possibilities of cooperation, but at the same time it poses new challenges.

In the talks with Eduard Shevardnadze, it was agreed that the two sides will work to elaborate a new treaty that will govern mutual relations. Working teams at deputy ministerial level have already been set up. It is notable that a decision was reached to begin negotiations on the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Poland. There was also the promise to develop stronger links between the Soviet Union's Kaliningrad Region and the adjacent Polish regions. The economic aspects of the talks are reflected by the progress made, especially in securing supplies of Soviet gas for Poland. The amount of Soviet crude oil supplies, however, is still not known and this issue is of cardinal importance for Poland.

There is also the matter of Poland's indebtedness towards the Soviet Union, as well as the current Polish trade surplus. The announced change to settlements in dollars will simplify these issues, but we must be prepared for a substantial drop in trade with the Soviet Union for, among others, these very reasons.

Cooperation on the humanitarian level will be continued. The Polish Prosecutor's Office will participate in the investigation of the murder of Polish officers in Ostaszkow, Kozielsk, and Starobielsk. Both sides are determined to finally resolve these so-called "blank spots" in their mutual relations and to develop cultural cooperation.

The talks in Moscow, Minsk, and Kiev, were overshadowed by the difficult economic situation of the Soviet Union. The lack of any clear division of competence between the central government and republic governments proved to be—along with the economic crisis—the principal barrier in the negotiations. Nor should one discount the fact that the governments of Russia, Belorussia, and the Ukraine are just beginning to get used to the idea of being able to conduct their own foreign policy.

On the other hand, the unsuccessful talks in Minsk—it is known that no joint declaration was signed—must be attributed to the present state of Belorussian national consciousness. The Belorussians are in the process of defining their own national identity and are trying to do it by drawing a clear line between themselves and other nations. Pronouncements of real and imagined wrongs suffered is one of the stages in this process.

The catalogue of accusations and demands against Poland is also an attempt to internally minimize long held Belorussian resentments and the widely held fear of Polonization, which, according to Belorussians, the rebirth of the Roman Catholic Church in Belorussia—after many decades of savage repression—could bring about.

In the Ukraine, despite the fact that Polish-Ukrainian historical relations are incomparably more aggravated than Polish-Belorussian ones, neither the communist government nor the opposition groupings have shown any fear of establishing closer contacts with Poland. The fact that the population of the Ukraine is several times as large as the population of Belorussia is not an insignificant factor.

Poland is continuing its dialogue with the Soviet Government and is the first state to establish official dialogue with the Russian, Belorussian, and the Ukrainian Republics. The true value of this visit—a visit that ended on Tuesday—will only become apparent after a certain time has elapsed and which will show whether the declarations and agreements are actually leading to concrete results.

Foreign Ministry Official on Polish-Russian Pact

AU2310120190 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 17 Oct 90 p 5

[Untitled commentary "especially for ZYCIE WARSZAWY" by Grzegorz Kostrzewa-Zorbas, deputy director of the European Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs]

[Text] The declaration that has been signed in Moscow at the seat of the authorities of the Russian Federation on the Moscow River near the Kremlin is the first document of its kind in the entire history of Polish-Russian relations. There have been pacts and agreements before, there was a kind of peace treaty, and later there were agreements on certain narrow spheres of social life. But never has there been such a comprehensive, far-reaching declaration that establishes such close cooperation between the two states.

The declaration was signed by the foreign ministers. It is not just of symbolic importance, but of great practical significance that the Polish-Russian declaration is the first international document to be signed by the new foreign minister of Russia, Andrey Kozirev. He is the first man to be entrusted with the task of pursuing foreign policy since the adoption of the declaration on Russia's sovereignty. Previously, the Russian Foreign Ministry pursued only very limited activity, and the Russian foreign minister was less known than even his Ukrainian or Belorussian counterparts. In particular, Russia never concluded any international political documents. Mr. Kozirev, a young diplomat, obviously became foreign minister with the support of the greatest Russian political authority, Boris Yeltsin. Russian Prime Minister Ivan Silayev was personally engaged in the talks that preceded the signing of the document. The Russian side underlined the importance of the fact that the first international document to be signed by the first Russian foreign minister since the declaration of Russian sovereignty is a declaration of friendship and good-neighborly cooperation with Poland. At the same time, the Republic of Poland is the first country to have recognized Russia's sovereignty. Anyone with even scant knowledge of European history will realize the importance of this act.

The declaration refers to three spheres which can be described as three baskets, a description used during the Helsinki Conference—the political, economic, and humanitarian baskets.

The political sphere mainly involves a mutual recognition of sovereignty and equality. It involves a mutual declaration of cooperation and a confirmation of borders, which is particularly important because of all the speculation in the West and in the Soviet Union about forming an autonomous German territory within Russia or the USSR, in Kaliningrad Oblast. The declaration calls for constant political consultations.

The economic sphere calls for the creation of the contractual basis for close cooperation, chiefly consisting of direct cooperation between enterprises and other units. There is talk of border cooperation between northeastern parts of Poland and the Kaliningrad Oblast. The economic sphere also involves ecological issues, calling for close cooperation in protecting the environment, especially the provision of timely warnings of pollution likely to cause damage in both states.

The humanitarian sphere talks of ethnic minorities—the Polish minority in Russia and Russian minorities in Poland, and the creation of the best possible conditions for them to develop their national identities, spiritual life, and education. There is a declaration on activity aimed at facilitating cooperation between individuals, associations, and organizations. In particular, there is talk of a relaxation of tourist traffic. There is also talk of protecting Polish historic and cultural monuments in Russia and Russian monuments in Poland.

At the end of the declaration, among very specific decisions of an organizational nature, there is an announcement about the establishment of diplomatic and consular relations between Poland and Russia. One can expect the appointment of diplomatic representations in the not too distant future. There is also talk of setting up cultural centers. A Polish cultural center will be opened in Leningrad, and a Russian center in Warsaw. It was the Russians themselves who picked Warsaw, we gave them freedom of choice.

We think this declaration, similar to a treaty in form and content, is a very good, modern document. While working out the final version, we in the Foreign Ministry examined numerous bilateral treaties—and I mean treaties, not declarations—and drew conclusions from them. The present declaration is no less rich than the German-Soviet treaty that was initialed in September.

This is a comprehensive document, for it contains good-neighborly relations, cooperation, friendship—in other words everything that is possible in international relations. The only missing element is the military sphere, and that is being settled between Poland and the Soviet Union. However, the declaration does say that Polish-Russian cooperation will be a contribution to international security, especially European security.

Walesa Meets Argentina's Menem in Gdansk

LD2310185990 Warsaw PAP in English 1639 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] Gdansk, Oct. 23—Solidarity Leader Lech Walesa and President of Argentina Carlos Menem met in Gdansk today to discuss the Polish reforms and this country's economic cooperation with abroad.

Earlier, Carlos Menem visited the Gdansk shipyard and laid flowers at the monument to the fallen shipyard workers.

Prime Minister Continues Western European Tour

AU2310181790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1431 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/10/1990—In Luxembourg, Romania's Prime Minister Petre Roman was received by Grand Duke Jean of Luxembourg, talked with the leaders of the country's three political parties, with the speaker of the Chamber of Deputies, Mrs. Erna Hennicot Schoegger, and other parliamentarians, and signed an economic cooperation and trade agreement between Romania and the European community. He then left for Paris to attend a Romanian evening hosted Monday [22 October] by the Great Hall of UNESCO Palace, actually marking Romania's return to the world organization.

The evening comprised George Enescu's second sonata for piano and violin—soloists Valentin Gheorghiu and Silvia Marcovici—and "Medeea" performed by Bucharest's National Theater Company, stage manager Andrei Serban.

During the performance, a Romanian emigrant focussed a projector on the prime minister and verbally abused him. Other spectators reacted to the verbal attack.

Foreign Minister Interviewed on New Balkan Ties

AU2310120190 Bucharest LIBERTATEA in Romanian 15-16 Oct 90 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Foreign Affairs Minister Adrian Nastase by Emil Jurca; place and date not given: "There Are Many Factors That Favor the Opening Up of a New Phase in Inter-Balkan Relations"]

[Text] [Jurca] Mr. Minister, what are the main targets of the forthcoming conference of foreign ministers from Balkan countries—the second one of this kind—scheduled to take place in Tirana on 24-25 October 1990?

[Nastase] The conference participants intend to draw up a balance sheet of the comprehensive cooperation among Balkan countries over the two and a half years which have elapsed since the first meeting of foreign ministers of all Balkan countries, which took place in Belgrade in February 1988.

A second essential goal of the Tirana conference is to examine ways to expand and deepen Balkan cooperation, to the benefit of the social and economic development of all states in the Balkans and of peace, security, and understanding in that region.

On the eve of the Tirana conference, the Balkan countries can boast a rich balance sheet of multilateral cooperation ventures. Thanks to the sizable number of Balkan meetings that have taken place in recent years, these countries were able to jointly examine the main guidelines and spheres of mutually advantageous cooperation. Industrial development, agricultural modernization, transportation and communications, tourism, environmental protection, and greater trust and mutual respect have been just a few of the spheres of collective interest for the Balkan states in the past two-and-a-half years. If that period can be considered as a phase of active exploration of the inter-Balkan cooperation potential, the forthcoming conference in Tirana—through its conclusions and results—can open up the way for a new, applicative phase, as it were, of working out and implementing concrete projects and programs for multilateral cooperation in fields of mutual interest.

[Jurca] What is the meaning of the Tirana meeting, in light of the fact that great political shifts have occurred in that region and in Europe?

[Nastase] In my opinion, the Tirana conference is taking place at a unique point in European history, which can give new dimensions to inter-Balkan cooperation. There are more factors which favor the opening up of a new phase in the relations among the Balkan countries. The profound changes that have occured on the European continent in the past year, particularly in Eastern Europe, have had multiple effects.

The relations among European nations, including the Balkan ones, have ceased to be marked by the ideological disputes that have kept Europe and the whole world in a state of permanent tension for more than 40 years. Human rights are visibly turning from a field of confrontation into a sphere of cooperation. The military competition, which in the entire postwar period has generated an atmosphere of cold war and consistently accentuated the danger of a conflict, has made room for negotiations aimed at substantially reducing arms and armed forces. Germany's reunification is another expression of the new spirit prevailing in the relations among the European continent's countries. In these conditions, the primary place in the context of inter-European relations, particularly in the Balkans, is increasingly taken by economic, scientific- technological, cultural, and other cooperation, which serves the major interests of all countries.

[Jurca] An exchange of views among the foreign ministers of Balkan countries has recently taken place in New York. What were the results of this meeting?

[Nastase] All Balkan countries currently have a similar view on the prospects of expanding Balkan cooperation. This became quite obvious during the meeting of the deputy foreign ministers of these states, which took place in Bucharest in the first half of September. The exchange of opinions during the recent meeting of Balkan foreign ministers, which took place in New York at the initiative of Albania's minister of foreign affairs, expressed the political will of these countries to give new impetus to relations among themselves. There is an increasingly greater consensus that the development of Balkan multilateral and bilateral cooperation at various levels can lead to a better climate of mutual trust and respect, thus facilitating the resolution of misunderstandings that still persist in this region.

[Jurca] How does our country view this conference? What is the role of the Balkan countries in the current European context?

[Nastase] Like the other Balkan countries, Romania believes that security and cooperation in the Balkans are integral parts of the process of security and cooperation in Europe, a process which has lately registered new dynamics. Next month, in Paris, the heads of state or government of the European nations, the United States, and Canada will adopt decisions of major significance for the future framework of peace and cooperation in Europe. They will establish the first pan-European institutions designed to direct the continent's cooperation ventures toward a democratic, peaceful, and united Europe. Through its results, the Tirana conference can make a concrete contribution to the success of the Paris meeting. As a matter of fact, the Tirana meeting of foreign ministers intends to send the Paris summit a message containing the decision of Balkan countries to stimulate—through greater cooperation among themselves—the processes of cooperation and security at the scale of the entire continent.

In our opinion, the favorable political premises that have opened up in Europe allow the Balkan countries, which have long-standing traditions of cooperation and common interests, to play an active role in accelerating the process of setting up a new structure of security and cooperation on the European continent. Proceeding on the basis of this goal, Romania has recently suggested the creation of a Forum for Security and Cooperation in the Balkans, which can improve the relations among Balkan countries, as an integral part of the CSCE process.

Leaves for Tirana, Makes Statement

AU2310194090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1803 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/10/1990—On Tuesday Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs Adrian Nastase left for Tirana to attend the meeting of the Balkan countries' foreign ministers. In a statement made to the press he appreciated the conference as a highly significant event. The speaker opined that the radical changes in Europe, in Eastern Europe especially, in the Balkans included, opened promising prospects for the expansion and deepening of the collaboration and understanding among Balkan states. We hope that the final document of the conference will express the new dimensions of Balkan collaboration in future years, Mr. Nastase stated inter alia.

The participants in the Tirana conference will address the Paris summit meeting a message of great significance for the Balkan nations' intentions concerning their relations, for the important contribution they could make to the development of the all-European process, to the strengthening of peace, security and cooperation on the entire continent.

Reality shows that the Balkans are characterized by a new spirit of openness for multilateral collaboration in spite of the conflicts still existing between various countries in the region.

We go to Tirana in the idea to give a new impetus to that disponibility, with the wish to actively contribute to founding a new partnership, a new framework for multilateral collaboration among Balkan states which should lead to the establishment of a climate of mutual confidence so necessary to solve the still existing problems.

Academy President Opens Joint FRG Colloquium

AU2310211090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1905 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/10/1990—A Romanian-German colloquium on "Problems of Cultural Identity: Europe and the Romanian Culture" started in Bucharest on Tuesday in the Aula of the Romanian Academy.

The colloquium is organized by the "George Calinescu" Institute of Literary History and Theory and the "Friedrich Ebert" German Institute.

Pointing out that that was the first Romanian-German colloquium after the unification of Germany, Dr. Mihai Draganescu, president of the Romanian Academy, showed in his opening address that, during the colloquium, men of letters from Romania and Germany could dwell on several aspects of the Romanian culture's identity in Europe and the way these aspects are received in Germany.

He went on to say that for Romania the transition period means, on the one hand, a process of rebirth through the revival of our cultural identity's sources, and on the other hand the embarkment of our society on the road towards a modern democratic system, based on key technologies, market economy, privatization, social safety and human rights, thus outlining Romania's new European status. Mr. Draganescu concluded by saying that "for us this colloquium means some beautiful European days, showing that we are not really a divided Europe;" we are very glad of this cooperation with Germany, which is a resumption of our traditional relationships which we hope will develop still more in the future, Mrs. Zoe Dumitrescu-Busulenga, vicepresident of the Romanian Academy, pointed out on the same occasion. For the first time the German Romanicists from the former FRG and GDR arrive together at this colloquium which gathers a handful of specialists in the field of the relations between the Romanian and European cultures at various moments in their history and we think such colloquiums are of great importance to fully restore our image in the world, said Academician Zoe Dumitrescu-Busulenga.

U.S. Company Conference on Ploiesti Oil Refinery

AU2310194490 Bucharet ROMPRES in English 1830 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/10/1990—Organized by the Vienna branch of the American company "Dresser-Rand", a technical conference was held in Ploiesti on Tuesday on the modalities to recover the thermal energy from the catalytic cracking installations of the Romanian refineries. The conference laid the bases of negotiations for the introduction of new working systems in Romanian refineries, using American advanced technologies. It was established that part of the equipment be made in Romania owing to the good experience in the field of the Romanian oil field equipment.

Joint U.S. Radio Frequency Management Symposium

AU2310194290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1822 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/10/1990—U.S.-Romanian Joint Radio Frequency Spectrum Management Conference started at Bucharest today. The American delegation to the symposium consists of Alfred Sikes, chairman of the Federal Telecommunications Commission, Ambassador Warren Clark, special adviser to the U.S. State Department Bureau of Communications and Information Policy, and Mrs. J. Obuchowski, assistant to the secretary of commerce, head of the department's national telecommunications and information administration experts.

The American delegation had talks with Communications Minister Andrei Chirica and State Minister for Industry and Commerce Anton Vatasescu.

"Today we will begin what I hope will become a tradition of closer and more productive cooperation between our countries in an especially important area telecommunications," said Mr. Sikes in his introductory remarks.

"I am pleased, as an American Government official, to be able to come to Romania, and to offer our help to your very ancient nation which has experienced so many great changes in its history at a time when it can take the steps essential to making it a dynamic member of the community of free nations."

"So, let me take this opportunity to encourage Romania to move forward towards a genuine democracy, an historic effort, I am sure, that will, in the final analysis, accrue major benefits to Romanians here, in my country and worldwide, as Romania is able to secure a more prominent position among the world community."

"At our discussions, we will be reviewing the American approach toward radio frequency management which is, essentially, a process ensuring the widespread and equitable distribution of an important natural resource, a national asset".

"Not all of the policies which have worked so successfully in the United States may be transferable to the Romanian experience.

"But I believe that our fundamental philosophy of relying to the maximum extent possible on free market competition, and stressing the value of allowing as many people as possible to make a contribution does represent a sound and workable approach".

Senate Rejects Government Proposal, Approves Bill

AU2310194690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1836 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/10/1990—For the first time since it has been elected, in its Tuesday session, the Senate rejected a normative act initiated by the government accepting the proposal of the Legal Commission, after another two commissions for administration and financial policy had refused to approve it. It is the bill which stipulates the restitution to owners of buildings nationalized under two decrees issued during the dictatorship.

The main argument of the Legal Commission was that throughout the communist dictatorship numerous similar abuses were made, by violating the decree regarding nationalization also by confiscating the property of the persons leaving the country. After the debates, the Senate adopted a resolution suggesting the government to study the respective problem in its entirety.

The most important event since the resumption of the Senate's proceedings after the summer holidays took place on Tuesday: This legislative forum validated with a majority of votes the bill on the setting up of commercial societies.

The document marks a decisive moment in Romania's efforts to pass to the market economy.

The law stipulates inter alia the possibility of setting up commercial societies with foreign participation in association with Romanian juristic or natural persons or only with foreign capital through the Romanian agency for promoting foreign investments and economic assistance.

After several weeks of debates, the Tuesday session accomplished a consensus between the government and the parliamentary groups in the Senate regarding the necessity to set up such specialized institutions which should encourage the foreign investors' participation.

Deputies' Assembly Continues Discussing Bills

AU2410135090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1247 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/10/1990—The Assembly of Deputies resumed Wednesday 24 October work in its standing commissions on the agenda of which are many bills initiated by the government. Among them are a bill on collective labor conflicts, a public finance bill, a bill against unfair competition, a bill on the organization and functioning of the government of Romania, a bill on the organization and functioning of ministries, and other draft normative acts apt to create the legal setting for the democratization of the Romanian society and the passage to the market economy.

FSN Vice President on Party's Current Position

AU2310181590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1422 GMT 23 Oct 90

["Political Life—The National Salvation Front Only Manages the Crisis"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/10/1990—It is not true that the National Salvation Front (NSF) [FSN] is in power, stated the Front's Vice President Claudia Iordache in an interview for the daily "TINERETUL LIBER". At the moment, all we can do, through the executive, is to manage the crisis; there is nothing else to do but let the totalitarian state disintegrate and become little by little to a state of law, said he.

The Front's vice president admitted that the Front could no longer boast the number of supporters it had before the elections of May 20. Among the causes, he saw the dissatisfaction of part of the voters asked by the government to make economic sacrifices, as well, and also the dissociation from the Front of another fraction of the electors with whom the Front itself parted: they were former key-post holders who were hoping that the Front's victory would save them. When they realized the opposite was true they went to such lengths as to try destabilize the state as they did on 13 June, opined Mr. Iordache.

In response to the remark that the cohesion of the Front organizations seems to have weakened, he described the process as "relaxation" and said it was apparent in all the other parties, which he explains by the Romanian voter's "conditioned reflex" acquired in half a century of being denied any option.

When asked what was being done for a revigoration of the NSF structures, Mr. Claudiu Iordache shortly reviewed the preparations for the Front's national convention to be held at the beginning of December: an attempt of special significance at creating new leadership styles, with new leaders at the top; the strengthening of all county and big township leaderships by an infusion of outstanding personalities from among the NSF members.

We hope the national convention, pointed out Mr. Iordache, will shape us out as a mature, self-reliant and dependable political party. We want to become a European democratic political party, truly democratic in both form and substance, which our political platform will show.

Discontent Among Citizens, Parties Noted

AU2210183990 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 11 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

[Viorel Stirbu article: "Hatred"]

[Text] There was a mass rush toward historical parties in the first days after the revolution and many citizens established new political groups to play a role in the country's public life. Certainly, among these people, many who penetrated those groups were individuals with special missions and, of course, many were members of the former Romanian Communist Party [PCR] who were looking for alibis. Probably time, alone, would have made the necessary selection; however, the majority of the Romanians were people of good faith. In the spirit of the "consensus," life would probably have been much quieter had things continued in an atmosphere of tolerance which seemed to triumph at one point. Thus, there were certainly enough PCR members who burned their membership cards and breathed a sign of relief. When they realized that they could become free and humane again, they decided to give up any type of militant attitude. There were cases in which heads of lower echelons were squeezing themselves like ghosts among their fellow citizens, feeling guilty and humble as if trying to prove that they have understood the ways of history. Someone, however, proposed another scenario, which was taken over by the provisional leadership, for reasons which are still unclear. Until 12 January, chants of "Down with communism!" could be heard. That night, one could hear chants of "Death to Communists" for the first time in the Victory Square, which radically changed the course of events. This was not done by the historical parties, but by a faction of the same provisional leadership. The mask fell on 29 January when the ransacking of the headquarters of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNT-cd], the National Liberal Party [PNL], and the Social Democratic Party [PSD] was carried out. It became clear that the "emanations" of the revolution, victors of the internal struggle of the National Salvation Front [FSN] Council, chose the road of diversion. Those who returned from emigration were told that they had not eaten sausages made of "soybeans"; the supporters of the efficient economy were screamed at: "We do not sell our country"; and the leaders of the historical parties were blamed in every possible way. I was even surprised, for example, about how the PSD, the first workers party in Romania, could be hated so much by certain leaders who sympathized with the Swedish social democrats, with French socialism, and so on. Later I saw the results of using this scenario, which was meant to bring back hatred in the Romanian society. The communist mafia, which was mortally wounded in December, recovered after a short convalescence and started pitilessly splitting, instigating, and hitting at everything that is best in ourselves, our sincere aspiration to become humans.

State Secretary Dijmanescu on Price Liberalization

AU2410134790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1240 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/10/1990—If the home price system remained unchanged, more than half of the raw materials and energy required by Romania's current production would have to be further state subsidized, says Eugen Dijmarescu, minister of state for economic guidance in an article published in "ADEVARUL" in answer to public reaction to the price liberalization Prime Minister Petre Roman announced in his report to Parliament.

If that were so, the minister said, 19 lei would have to be paid from the state budget for each dollar worth of import. Even if the cost of one tonne of imported crude oil were 268 dollars, or 9,380 lei, the remaining 2,000 lei now paid by the processing industry would have to be paid from the budget. The same is true of natural gas, metallurgical coal, copper, zinc, bauxite, iron ore, phosphates, cotton, wool, etc. which can give an idea of the falsity of the prices in the Romanian economy.

Price distortions acted like a screen: On 31 December 1989 1,643 enterprises of all-country significance reported a combined loss of 233.5 billion lei, but actual losses in the national economy were in the region of 267.8 billion lei for just one year. To improve their financial position, the minister shows, 171.3 billion lei were pumped into those enterprises from the state budget until 31 August 1990. There are now another 819 industrial enterprises of national standing totalling 11.5 billion lei loss this year.

To set this situation straight, price liberalization is imperative, to let the demand and offer fix the price. And yet in view of the government's social safety aim, 14 billion lei state subsidies will be paid for certain raw materials supplied by the extractive industry. Furthermore, the price of electricity, heat, fuel, rents, transport permits will be subsidized by the state for the next 12 month during which it will pay 25 billion lei.

The government will correlate price rises for the basic foods and industrial products with raises in salaries and pensions the minister showed.

Situation of Farmed Arable Land Reviewed

AU2310121090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0921 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 23/10/1990—Romania's arable area farmed until June 15, 1990 was of 9,402,400 hectares, namely 99.7 percent of the total arable area, read the annals of the National Commission for Statistics. The remaining 0.3 percent have not been sown.

The farmed arable area is more than 400,000 hectares smaller than the 1989 one, particularly because arable land was turned into pastures, hay fields, vineyards etc. While fodder was grown on larger areas for improving the poor condition of animal breeding, areas destined to other kinds of crops, technical crops first of all, were much smaller, those for fibre hemp being not larger than the 1930 ones and those for fibre flax not larger than the 1960 ones. Sunflower areas were as large as the 1953 ones, sugar beet areas as large as the 1978 ones, and beans areas as large as the 1950 ones.

This year 2.7 million hectares are allotted to households, namely 28.3 percent of Romania's arable area, 1.5 million hectares more than last year.

New Police Chief on Goals of Police Activity

AU2210190090 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 12 Oct p 2

[Petre Popa article: "The New Police Chief Meets With Representatives of the Press"]

[Text] Yesterday [11 October], during his first meeting with representatives of the press since his appointment to the office of state secretary and head of the Police Department, Colonel Ioan George Danescu stressed the role of the police in society. The police are determined to act exclusively in accordance with the law, and will not allow themselves to be influenced by anybody. "The leadership of the Ministry of Interior should make efforts—said Mr. Danescu—to achieve certain changes in the policeman's psychological structure. In this respect I believe that it is necessary to understand the idea of self-sacrifice and to turn this idea into an intimate conviction, freely accepted by every police employee—starting with the noncommissioned officer up to the general. In this way for example, if all social categories benefit from a free Saturday and Sunday, policemen should always be on duty to defend life, health, and the integrity of the individual, of public and private assets, ensure public order and quiet, and prevent and decrease the unacceptably high rate of all kinds of violations of the law." Referring to the positive nature and the usefulness of the dialogue held recently by the leadership of this department with the Parliamentary Commission set up upon the request of the minister of interior, concerning what the Romanian Police is, how it functions, and what it wants to become, in conclusion Colonel Ioan George Danescu said: "We are in an advanced stage of a process of promoting a draft police law, a code of the policeman, and norms which have a cardinal value for our entire activity."

Students Demand Admittance to Medical School

AU2310195090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1839 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/10/1990—On Tuesday morning, a delegation of the three candidates rejected at the admittance exam at the Faculty of Medicine of Craiova this summer came back to Bucharest requesting their enrollment in the vacancies granted by the former minister of education, Mihai Sora, to candidates rejected in 1989 at the similar faculty in Bucharest. The delegation, carrying panels on which their requests were written, stopped in front of the government headquarters where they left an open letter to Minister Gheorghe Stefan. The rejected candidates announced that in case of a unfavorable answer from the leadership of the Ministry of Education and Science they would go to the Human Rights Commission, to the press and foreign embassies.

SZR Protests Government Press Decision

AU2310214790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1918 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/10/1990—The Journalists' Society of Romania (JSR) [SZR] the Trade Union Federation of the entire press reacted on Tuesday to the communique issued by the government on 20 October regarding the situation created in connection with the setting up of the "National Publishers" as an autonomous company, a measure against which the Journalists' Organizations protested firmly considering it as an attempt to the independence and freedom of the press.

In the opinion of the JSR, the "National Publishers" could be set up as an autonomous company only following a resolution of the government, and therefore its stand according to which the "National Publishers" is an independent juristic person for the actions of which the government cannot be held responsible cannot be accepted. It is precisely the government that abusively made it the owner of the independent publications administered by the former "Free Press" publishing house "to ensure all the technical and material conditions for the publications that promote the government policy".

The only practical answer in this situation we await from the government is to change the decision of setting up the "National Publishers" in the present form, by limiting the object of its activity strictly to that stipulated in the charter of the "Free Press" publishing house whose successor it is, that is to supply administrative services to the publications which manifest their wish under contract, the JSR communique reads.

The JSR also announces that it drafted a bill of the freedom of the press which it puts at the disposal of the government and of the Parliament to be tabled and approved when the time is considered fit.

As for the Romanian Television, the JSR notes with regret the perseverence of the government in using indirect constraint methods, of an economic nature, to ensure the subordination of that important communication means. The increase of the number of subscribers is directly linked to the possibility of the people's being able to purchase TV sets, and the subscription fee was set in consideration of the social importance of that national institution, and not of the self-financing necessities of the television, the communique reads inter alia.

Former PCR Members' Trial Continues

AU2310211690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1924 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/10/1990—On Tuesday the Bucharest Territorial Tribunal continued the trial of the former Romanian Communist Party [PCR] Executive Political Committee members, who are charged with genocide, and heard Defendant Ioan Toma.

The defendant rejected the charges against him, stating that his taking part in the Executive Political Committee meetings over December 17-22, 1989, and his presence in Timisoara over December 19-21 are no reason for his being sent to trial. Thus, vid. [vis.—videlicet] the charge of tacit approval in the two Executive Political Committee meetings of the decision to use firearms in order to repress the December revolution, he stated that the agreement of the participants was not requested in either case.

During his interogatory, the defendant made several detailed references to what he noted during his stay in Timisoara over 19-21 December 1989. In that context he made a clear difference between the "blamable" character of the hooliganic acts occurred on 16 and 17 December and that of the events that started on 20 December when the masses took peacefully to the streets requesting the overthrowing of the dictatorial regime.

In his capacity as first secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth and minister for youth affairs, he considered it natural to inquire about the reaction of the students and whether they took part in those blamable actions. He was also told that no young workers were among those who took to the streets on 16 and 17 December, his conclusion being that "the students and decent young people did not used clubs, did not damaged anything, did not set fire to anything".

The session was adjourned to Friday, 26 October, at 9 o'clock, when Defendant Niculescu Mizil Paul is to be heard.

Stanculescu's News Conference on Army Issues

AU2210183090 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 17 Oct 90 p 7

[Bogdan Ficeac report on Defense Minister Victor Stanculescu's news conference in Bucharest on 16 October: "We Want a Modern and United Army"]

[Text] Colonel General Victor Stanculescu, minister of national defense, held a news conference in the beautiful Byzantine Hall of the Army House yesterday, 16 October, which was attended by numerous Romanian and foreign journalists.

I have selected a few remarks made by the minister in his extensive introductory speech in connection with current and future Army issues. Thus, in order to solve the problems of the military staff, a Military Staff Association (an apolitical form of organization of all staff in the Ministry of National Defense) has been set up. A Commission for the Social Status of the Army has also been set up to coordinate studies on the social, material, and cultural needs of the Army. These studies will be submitted to the government and Parliament in order to discuss the financing of these Army requirements. Numerous measures have been taken to improve living conditions for the military. There are numerous concerns about ensuring everything that is needed in terms of combat technology and equipment, as well as regular supplies for the Army. The minister said that the Army cannot and will never serve the interests of any party. It will not tolerate staff practicing partisan policy, doing so on behalf of the Army.

As usual, the most exiting moments of the conference were those linked to the questions from the journalists. Here are some of the answers: The minister assured us that the Securitate's listening installations have not been reactivated anywhere. In situations equaling a natural disaster (and such a situation exists today in agriculture, where tremendous amounts of grain and vegetables may be spoiled because there is a shortage of harvesters) the Army's duty is to intervene, of course with appropriate pay. The Army does not tolerate pressure from anyone. Ideas have circulated in recent months in connection with solving the existing tension in the country by military force, but they have been rejected. "I have been contacted by people at home and abroad (not many)," the minister said "who suggested that I could represent a political reserve in case the democratic system in our country did not function. However, I believe that for Romania, which has already experienced the effects of two dictatorships and which today wants to enter Europe, the alternative of a dictatorship, including a military one, is out of the question."

GAMA [extension unknown] has been assessed as a voluntary association of some staff outside the Army with whom a dialogue will take place the moment the initiators of this group reveal their identity and who will come up with new proposals and ideas and not only with invectives and generalities.

As for CADA [Democratic Action Committee of the Army], it has been assessed that it no longer exists at this point and that its members have joined the Military Staff Association.

I myself asked the following questions:

[Ficeac] Mr. minister, A CADA-type of group, which we know has not dissolved itself, cannot be dissolved on the basis of an order. I reread their demands of February and I do not detect any signs of politics or slander in them. What prevents you from continuing the dialogue and letting it take its natural course?

[Stanculescu] The question of demands is not what is important here but rather the framework within which these demands have been formulated. Once again I want to affirm: We accept dialogue, but we do not tolerate ad-hoc organizational forms. We have created a legal framework on the basis of which more than 6,600 proposals for the renewal of the Army have already been received.

[Ficeac] As for GAMA, I do not know any details about it and therefore I cannot support it; however I want to ask you what your opinion is of its accusations regarding the corruption within the Army and the promotions on the basis of criteria other than competence?

[Stanculescu] They can clarify these things, because some of them were leader in the Army during the first days of the revolution. When I took over this ministry I was appalled at the promotions made then and the criteria on the basis of which these promotions were made.

[Ficeac] A last question, Mr. Minister: What are the results of the investigation made into the conduct of the Army during the first stage of the revolution. More precisely: Did the Army fire at the people? If so, who are the individuals who fired and when will they be brought to trial?

[Stanculescu] We are not entitled to make such investigations. They have to be carried out by the Prosecutor's Office; the military staff—up to the highest rank—has responded to all queries in this type of inquiry.

Serbian Assembly Adopts Laws To Protect Economy

LD2310183390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1713 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Oct (TANJUG)—At today's session the Serbian Assembly adopted as an urgent matter a package of laws whose application will alleviate the adverse effects of the Federal Executive Council measures on the republic's economy. These laws—more or less—envisage the granting of consumer credits for goods produced in Serbia, and the introduction of a special sales tax for goods and servics originating from republics which, by their measures, are putting Serbia into a disadvantaged position. A special tax will be paid for the promotion of firms and the use of business premises and building sites in Serbia.

Serbia will also withhold funds from the sales tax if the federation does not fulfill its obligations toward the republic, and it will also apply a direct price control to remove disparities.

The Serbian Assembly adopted laws on collective agreements and on public enterprises in the fields of industrial electricity, rail and air transportion, and radio and television. It also adopted decisions on temporary measures in thirteen collectives in Kosovo.

Rumors of Tax on Slovene Goods in Serbia Noted

AU2310130690 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 20 Oct 90 p 12

[The Croatian News Agency, HINA, report: "Serbia Is Introducing Taxes on Slovene Products?"]

[Text] Belgrade—As we have unofficially learned, the Executive Council of the Serbian Assembly is expected to make an unusual move at its session scheduled for Saturday [date not specified]. It is expected to introduce a tax on all Slovene products sold on the territory of Serbia. Special taxes will be imposed not only on the Serbian firms which are buying Slovene products, but also on those which are selling their products to Slovenia.

Radmilovic Criticizes Federal Economic Measures

AU2310190790 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] At a joint session of all three chambers of the Assembly of Serbia, Stanko Radmilovic, president of the Executive Council of Serbia, spoke about the package of laws for implementing developmental economic policy.

The essence of the laws is for some of their measures to go further and others to be implemented differently than the reform that is being implemented at the federal level. The proposed laws have been prompted or even forced by the erroneous, unobjective, and for Serbia very harmful policy of the federal government. Stanko Radmilovic explained this.

[Begin Radmilovic recording] In part, the proposed laws are aimed at ensuring that the Republic of Serbia is not put into a difficult position—as it has been several times before—because of the failure of the federation to meet its obligations toward the republic. On the basis of what has been said before, it has not been discounted that obligations to the federation will be withheld by Slovenia and Croatia, in which case the federation will not be able to meet its obligations to Serbia.

Great mistakes have been made and great harm has been done to the economy of Serbia by the Federal Executive Council [FEC] with its inadequate import policy. It can been said in principle that one of the basic levers of its anti-inflationary shock therapy was the unrestrained liberalization of imports. Considering the consequences and absurdities, one can hardly find a precedent for importing agricultural industrial products anywhere in the world.

The latest decision to import 400,000 tonnes of flour when the country, and Vojvodina in particular, has a surplus of a thousand tonnes [Radmilovic corrects himself] a million tonnes of wheat really cannot have any rational justification. With this import policy and the [word indistinct] of goods from the federal reserves, also at dumping prices, the FEC has to all intents and purposes destroyed the unified Yugoslav market of agricultural and food products. Therefore, the imports have had a very negative effect on domestic production and have essentially contributed to its falling more than 11 percent.

However, this is not all. The persistent maintenance of an unrealistic exchange rate to preserve the artificially low convertibility of the dinar has ruined production from the other side too; it is destroying the income of the best organizations which will primarily export to the convertible currency area.

Considering all this, it is clear that Serbia can no longer reconcile itself with a quite inadequate policy of imports, foreign exchange rates, and exports, because of which it has been proposed that measures be taken which are not otherwise being taken by the FEC and that the opportunity be created for some of the earnings from (?customs duties), which are paid by its economy, to be used by the republic itself to implement an adequate foreign trade policy. [end recording]

The measures that have been proposed should help the economy of Serbia but not in a way that protects what does not deserve to be protected. As Stanko Radmilovic said [word indistinct] on the market will be quality goods but an uneconomical social superstructure will not be financed. Apart from measures to encourage investment, the following will also be done:

[Begin Radmilovic recording] Financial loans will be provided from abroad to pay for investment operations both at home and abroad. Some bank investments will be earmarked to [word indistinct] the sale of investment equipment and to finance leasing, some will be earmarked for intensifying housing construction because it is expected that [word indistinct] of housing will create greater demand for it, and some will be earmarked for financing the construction of small and medium-sized private enterprises, particularly with the aim of reducing the number of employees in large socially owned enterprises to the optimal level. Investment will also be earmarked for providing loans for the system of irrigation, the approval of consumer credit and leasing in order to revive demand and production, and so forth.

We are convinced that all these economic policy measures which we will implement—with insistence on property and management restructuring, the settling of relations in distribution, and an increase in the motivation of all employees to increase efficiency and the system of collective agreements which we are [word indistinct], along with changes in the fiscal system and reforms in social activities and state management—must facilitate a turn around from obvious pessimism which [words indistinct] defeatism in the direction of strengthening belief in oneself, in the direction of being able to and having to embark on the road to prosperity, with the affirmation of work, order, and profitability. [end recording]

Serb Assembly Wants FEC's Mitrovic Removed

LD2310153990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1449 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Oct (TANJUG)—The Chamber of Associated Labor of the Serbian Assembly today supported by a majority of votes the initiative that Aleksandar Mitrovic, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, be recalled from his post.

Explaining the proposal, delegate Predrag Petrovic presented views of the Kolubara region that Mitrovic, in his capacity as a federal official, has betrayed the interests of his region and of all Serbia.

Renewal Party To Run in Election if Counting Open

LD2210182490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1559 GMT 22 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Oct (TANJUG)—Mirko Jovic, leader of the Serbian People's Renewal, a nationally-oriented opposition party of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, said in Belgrade today that his party would take part in the elections scheduled for December 9th only if representatives of all parties which have candidates on the lists take part in the counting of the votes.

Jovic also asked that television in Serbia organize a round table discussion between representatives of the five strongest parties in the republic: the Socialist Party (former Communist), the Serbian People's Renewal, the Serbian (?Renaissance) Movement, the Democratic Party.

Jovic said that the members of his party were "exposed to threats and physical abuse" and that the authorities were pressuring nationally oriented parties.

Media To Grant Equal Access for Serb Candidates

LD2310190190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1744 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Oct (TANJUG)—Delegates of the Serbian Assembly have agreed with the regulations on the presentation of candidates for people's deputies in the People's Assembly of the Republic of Serbia, for the president of the republic, and for the electoral programs of their proposers.

According to this document, all parties will be able to present their programs on radio and television under equal conditions.

Bosnian Presidency Rejects Federal Crisis Plan

AU2410085690 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Oct 90 p 3

[Report by unidentified "team of BORBA reporters": "The Head of State Has Not Performed its Task"]

[Excerpts] The Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia- Hercegovina has rejected the "Program of Activities for Implementing Changes to Constitutional Relations in the SFRY in Order To Resolve the Constitutional Crisis" which the SFRY Presidency has submitted to the SFRY Assembly. The Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency assesses that this program would only more profoundly deepen the constitutional crisis and could even undermine the sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina because it does not offer constructive debate and dialogue among all the most responsible bodies of the federation, republics, and provinces aimed at finding solutions which are acceptable to everyone.

The Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina also explained what kind of Yugoslavia it advocated in talks with the SFRY Presidency: The constitutional legal concept should ensure that Yugoslavia is a full subject of international law and it should ensure that there is a unified army, equipped and organized in a modern way, which will protect the independence and territorial integrity of the country. The Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency also advocates that the SFRY Presidency be the supreme commander of the army and the only body to be able to proclaim a state of emergency in the whole country or part of the country if there is a threat from outside and it also advocates the unhindered functioning of a unified market with the free movement of goods, services, capital, and labor, as well as the provision of the most essential elements of unity in the system of protection of the constitutionally determined order of the country. [passage omitted]

The Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina assesses that the document deviates considerably from the contents of the political talks between the SFRY Presidency and the leaderships of all the republics and Vojvodina, and the federal Presidency's idea about a Yugoslav referendum—at which citizens would say whether they want Yugoslavia and in what form—"does not express the mood of the peoples and nationalities of the country...." The Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina also thinks that given the present circumstances, a referendum would contribute to further rifts in Yugoslavia, and concludes that instead of such a referendum it should initiate discussion and dialogue, and not propose final formulations of the future structure of relations, and proceed from those issues on which all the republics have decided as common issues and on this basis seek other cohesive factors in the future relations in Yugoslavia. The Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency therefore believes that as regards its vision of future relations and the constitutional structure in Yugoslavia, the SFRY Presidency has not performed its task and the program is at variance with what was expected of it and in contradiction to the essence of the initiative of the federal Assembly. Instead of investing the appropriate effort into preserving and further developing prerequisites and conditions for cohabitation, which would be in line with its constitutional functions, the SFRY Presidency is suddenly offering only a vote on the possible forms of a future structure, secession, and so on. The approach offered in the program of the SFRY Presidency does not lead to a resolution of the constitutional crisis through reasoned discussion and dialogue but directly leads to an even greater deepening of the crisis. The Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina resolutely rejects the offer of a referendum on two quite contradictory options because this closes dialogue and is a step toward the final split of Yugoslavia, the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina assessed.

The Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina is committed to an indivisible and sovereign Bosnia-Hercegovina within the present borders, as an equal republic in Yugoslavia but the solutions offered by the program of the SFRY Presidency could undermine this. The Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina also assesses that if no agreement is reached, it is necessary to embark on setting up Bosnia-Hercegovina as an independent and sovereign democratic state.

Macedonian Presidency Seeks Equality of Republics

LD2310211890 Belgrade TANJUG In English 1843 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] Skopje, 23 Oct (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia is in favour of a Yugoslavia as a democratic community of equal nations and nationalities and their republics, it was noted at today's meeting of the republican Presidency.

The Presidency also said that it had presented the same view during talks with other republican leaderships on the country's future constitutional organization, but that it had not dismissed other options in advance.

A democratic dialogue should be conducted on all options proposed, the Presidency holds.

The grave economic and social crisis, which led to bitter ethnic and inter-republican conflicts and culminated in a complex constitutional crisis, has imposed the need for radical social changes, the Macedonian Presidency said.

The security situation in the republic has lately been aggravated owing to the activity of ethnic Albanian nationalism and chauvinism, but also Macedonian nationalism, the Presidency warned.

The Presidency maintains that federal organs must immediately and energetically respond to the escalation of the policies of ignoration of Greece, Bulgaria and Albania towards the Macedonian minorities in those countries and the Macedonian nation in Yugoslavia.

Macedonian Social Democrats Leaving Coalition

LD2110221190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1255 GMT 21 Oct 90

[Text] Skopje, 21 Oct (TANJUG)—The Social Democratic Party of Macedonia is leaving its coalition with the Alliance of Reformist Forces for this republic and the Democratic Progressive Youth Party. As announced at today's news conference, the party's Executive Committee decided on this step because of the violation of the coalition's basic principles, or to be more precise, because of the unequal treatment of the social democrats in this electoral alliance.

In a public state, the Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party of Macedonia stresses that it does not want to take part in activities which offend the dignity of this party and have nothing in common with the already established democratic principles of preelection activities.

The Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party of Macedonia once again stressed its deep ties with the reform program of the Federal Executive Committee and its president, Ante Markovic, the implementation of which it will also fight for in the future.

Serb Autonomy Party in Croatia Issues Platform

LD2110222290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1646 GMT 21 Oct 90

[Text] Knin, 21 Oct (TANJUG)—The Executive Committee of the Council of the Serbian Democratic Party has concluded that the autonomy of Serbs in Croatia, that has been voted for, should be interpreted as a right to self-determination of the Serbian people in Croatia if Yugoslavia becomes a confederation, or if Croatia secedes from Yugoslavia.

This is the gist of a so-called program decision that was adopted at a closed-door session in Gracac last night by the Serbian Democratic Party Executive Committee. According to the program decision, the Serbian National Council has become a legitimate representative of the Serbian people in Croatia and is granted a mandate to negotiate with representatives of the republican government in Croatia.

Among other things, the decision stresses:

"If Croatia does not want to be a member of federal Yugoslavia, or if Yugoslavia transforms into an international regional organization of sovereign Yugoslav states (the Confederation of Yugoslavia), the autonomy which the Serbian people in Croatia voted for should be interpreted as a right of the Serbian people to self-determination. In this case, Croatia cannot lay claims on the Serbian people in Croatia and thus degrade it to the status of a national minority, separating it from its mother nation and its mother country, because the Serbian autonomy voted for represents a determination to remain within Yugoslavia. This means that the Serbian people living within the administrative borders of the Republic of Croatia have an inalienable right to choose whether to live in a single state with a majority of the Serbian people, which already lives in the present Republic of Serbia; and by no means does it mean that the Serbian people will automatically be considered a national minority in an Independent State of Croatia [name of the collaborationist World War II Croatian state], the borders of which would correspond to the present republican borders. In this case almost 100 percent support for autonomy means a right to survival in a single state with one's own people."

The program decision of the Serbian Democratic Party for ensuring a constitutionally enshrined status of the Serbian people in Croatia goes on to stress that the issue of the constitutional status of Serbs in Croatia was initiated by the change of political nature of the state of Croatia and by voting results of the Serbian people in Croatia for autonomy in the historical and ethnic territory now populated by the Serbian people within the borders of the Republic of Croatia; and that the character of Serbian autonomy is dependent on the political future of Yugoslavia as a common state of all Yugoslav nations.

The program decision of the Serbian Democratic Party for ensuring a constitutionally enshrined status of the Serbian people in Croatia also confirms that the Serbian Democratic Party gives it complete support for the Serbian National Council, and considers it, as it is put in the decision, a legitimate representative of the Serbian people in Croatia. It was concluded that the Serbian National Council should institutionalize the autonomy and hold all negotiations with state institutions of the Republic of Croatia.

Serb Party in Kosovo Reconvenes Conference

LD2410012890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2254 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] Pristina, 23 Oct (TANJUG)—The first conference of the organization of the Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) for the Yugoslav Province of Kosovo-Metohija ended this evening with the election of the main committee.

This evening's conference was the resumption of a conference adjourned about ten days ago due to the sudden death of chairman of the [word indistinct] committee of the SPS for Kosovo-Metohija Rahman Morina.

Debate had already been held on the programmatic postulates of the organization and on this occasion it remained to elect the main committee. In a discussion with polemic overtones, criticism was heard that the list did not reflect the views of the grassroots, but had been drawn up in narrow circles.

The conference will be followed by the main committee's constitutive session, which will elect the innermost leadership.

Albanian Reserve Officers Complain of Dismissals

AU2210192290 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Oct 90 p 6

[Vladimir Krasic report: "Why Ethnic Albanian Reserve Officers Write Petitions: There Is No Army Without Suicides"]

[Excerpts] Have ethnic Albanian reserve officers been deleted in large numbers from the wartime military rolls in the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] and Territorial Defense Force in the past few months? How much truth is there in the assertions presented in many petitions sent to the SFRY Presidency; to Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for people's defense; and to the leaderships of Croatia and Slovenia, to the effect that Albanians are generally proclaimed to be "unsuitable" and are removed from responsible military duties by short shrift, only because they are ethnic Albanians?

In their desire to check the allegations from these letters on the spot, Yugoslav People's Army representatives reportedly conducted a discussion with reserve officers in Vitina, Kosovo, which lasted several hours. Out of 78 invited officers, 54 attended. One of them even came from Switzerland.

Vitina was not selected by chance for this meeting. In this place, 36 ethnic Albanian reserve officers have signed a petition asserting that ethnic Albanians "are being removed from wartime rolls for unexplainable reasons." [passage omitted]

Explaining why a number of reserve officers in Kosovo have been removed from wartime rolls—and they include Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks, and Croats—Colonel Ismet Krasnici said that this was done for the purpose of strengthening the Territorial Defense Force of this province as well as for economic reasons.

We must cut the coat according to the cloth, Colonel Krasnici said. [passage omitted]

Somber Statistics

Colonel Milan Gvero said that there is no army in the world without suicides. This also happens in our Army which proportionally has the lowest number of suicides and fatal accidents. According to him, 47 percent of all soldier deaths occur when they are not in their units (when they are on leave).

From 1 January 1982 until 1 May 1990, Gvero said, 220 soldiers lost their lives in the Yugoslav People's Army. The most numerous among them were Serbs at 49.66 percent; 14.23 percent were Croats, 5.62 percent Slovenes, and 2.31 percent Albanians. During these eight years, 32 Albanians died in the JNA by way of fatal accidents. Of the deaths in the JNA, 38 percent are attributed to accidents caused by willful acts and violations of regulations by individuals. Any other reports presented to the public are pure manipulation.

Serbian National Council for Hercegovina Founded

LD2410112490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2225 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Summary] Trebinje, 23 Oct—Approximately 5,000 people from Trebinje and neighboring municipalities attended a founding assembly of the Serbian National Council for Hercegovina [Srpsko Nacionalno Vijece za Hercegovinu] in Trebinje this evening. Bozidar Vusurevic, chairman of the Serbian Democratic Party for Hercegovina, said that the main reason for setting up this council was that it could be the only guarantee that Serbs would be treated equally in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Markovic Addresses Alliance of Reformist Forces

LD2110192990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1538 GMT 21 Oct 90

[Summary] Opatija, 21 Oct (TANJUG)—A meeting was held in Opatija today between representatives of branches of the Alliance of Reformist Forces [Savez Reformskih Snaga—SRS] in Croatia and of representatives of political parties from all over Yugoslavia. Many speakers addressed the meeting.

"Addressing the several hundred representatives of the SRS for Croatia who had gathered, [Federal Executive Council President] Ante Markovic analyzed the political situation in the country, stressing that the Alliance is a political force wishing to have a lasting impact on all events in the country. Analyzing the increasingly frequent objections of political opponents as to why he did not initiate the founding of the Alliance earlier, why he did not depart from Croatia and other such criticisms, Ante Markovic described them as political manipulation. He recalled that the Alliance—immediately after the initiative for it to be set up—was organized from below, by the people in all parts of the country, and that it is growing into a political force wishing to influence the future of modern society in the new Yugoslavia.

"We are building a new system, Markovic said, containing everything from efficiency and economics to pluralism and democracy, which should find the best way to organize Yugoslavia so that each person's interests are realized in such a community, and by means of which we will be included in the developments of contemporary Europe. A constitutional and legal framework for a transitional period, as is offered by the amendments to the Yugoslav Constitution, is needed for this, Markovic said.

"Ante Markovic also spoke about efforts to prevent multiparty elections in parts of Yugoslavia where they have not yet been held, calling on those present in the SRS to campaign for the victory of democratic processes. He also recalled the disintegration of the socialist system throughout Europe, which, in his opinion, will continue for a long time. While the transition from one system to another in Yugoslavia has been speeded up and a democratic mood prevails, it must be carried out in a peaceful way because this is what is wanted by its citizens and the members of the nations and nationalities."

Formation of Yugoslav 'Coalition Bloc' Initiated

LD2110181190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1614 GMT 21 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Oct (TANJUG)—The Party of Yugoslavs has launched an initiative to form a Yugoslav coalition bloc jointly to come out at the upcoming elections for republican assemblies in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia and for the Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav parliament.

To this end a meeting was held in Belgrade today, attended by 11 from the 20 invited parties of Yugoslav, anti-nationalist and democratic orientation.

The Party of Yugoslavs called for an urgent accord since no more than three weeks are to go before the first elections in Macedonia and seven weeks before the last elections in Serbia and Montenegro.

Distributed among the meeting participants was a draft inter-party agreement with common platform which provides for joint candidates and campaigns, fully preserving each party's identity as to its programme and organization.

The meeting today showed that it was not a simple job to reach accords on the possible formation of the Yugoslav bloc.

Representatives of the Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic's party of reformist forces were not present at the meeting today.

Presidency To Hold Regular Session in Macedonia

AU2410091690 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] The complete SFRY Presidency will today hold a regular session in Ohrid [Macedonia]. The members of the SFRY Presidency will be met at the Ohrid airport by Vladimir Mitkov, president of the Presidency of Macedonia.

Journalist Indicted Over Markovic Article

LD2210181890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1621 GMT 22 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Oct (TANJUG)—The Federal Justice Secretariat has brought criminal charges against a Belgrade journalist in connection with his report on the Yugoslav prime minister's recent stay in Zagreb, capital of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia.

The journalist, Vojislav Zivkovic, wrote in POLITIKA EKSPRES that Prime Minister Ante Markovic "has extended full support to the separatist movement of Kosovo Albanians" during an alleged meeting in Zagreb with the representatives of alternative organizations of ethnic Albanians.

The secretariat described the Belgrade paper's report as false.

New 'Independent' Federal TV Station To Open

LD2210201290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1719 GMT 22 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Oct (TANJUG)—Yutel, a new television station established by the federal government, starts broadcasting tomorrow from a studio in Sarajevo, capital of the Yugoslav Republic Bosnia-Hercegovina, Yutel director Nebojsa Tomasevic told a press conference today.

Yutel will be an independent station which will prepare its program according to the professional standards of world-renowned television stations, Tomasevic said.

Yutel will not be a "government television" or an extended hand of any party, but a TV station for all of Yugoslavia and Europe, Tomasevic said. As planned, Yutel will be broadcast abroad via satellite as of next year.

The new TV station will be a joint stock company, and later a holding company, with home investors controlling 51 percent of the funds.

Yutel starts broadcasting tomorrow with a one-hour news and information program which will include, among other things, an interview with Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti and a poll of party leaders in Yugoslavia.

Tomasevic said the people engaged in Yutel were "staunch Yugoslavs" and Silvia Liks, program director of the new TV station, said she would prepare "the most candid program for all TV viewers in Yugoslavia."

Yutel programs will be seen in all Yugoslav TV centers except Belgrade, which does not agree to broadcast it for now.

Belgrade TV Refuses To Carry Programs

LD2310162690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1445 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Oct (TANJUG)—This evening Belgrade Television will not transmit a Yutel program because other television stations, apart from Sarajevo and Skopje Television, will not transmit it either. This was stated by Dusan Mitevic, Belgrade radio and television director general, at a press conference today. He then added that if the federal government wants to have its own party, then it cannot have its own television station, and if it wants to have a television station, then it cannot have its party.

Competent Serbian bodies will undertake all measures to prevent heralded transmission of Yutel on the 57th channel via special mobile transmitters, which have been erected "illegally" on Mt. Avala [near Belgrade] and Mt. Fruska Fora [near Novi Sad]. In doing so, they breached the sovereignty of the Serbian republic. Their action is subject to criminal responsibility, Mitevic stressed.

Private News Magazine VREME To Appear 29 Oct

LD2310052490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1934 GMT 22 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Oct (TANJUG)—The first issue of a privately-owned news magazine, VREME, which promises to carry objective, independent and non-party information, will appear on news stands Yugoslavia wide on Monday, October 29, the editors of VREME announced at today's press conference.

VREME, conceived as some of the best weeklies of this kind in the world, will have an initial circulation of 100 thousand.

It will be a "general information weekly which will shed light on all that happens on the Yugoslav scene, and not a tightly sealed association of persons politically of the same mind", said Dragoljub Zarkovic, editor of the home desk.

The weekly will be liberal and reform oriented, it was heard at the press conference today.

The first issue promises a discussion on whether Yugoslavia can fall apart.

VREME is expected to become a joint-stock company, an interest in which has been shown by investors in France and the United States, the editor said.

War Veterans Promise Support for Markovic

LD2310211790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1852 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Oct (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government (?supports) the adoption of constitutional amendments which will complete the economic reform and guarantee freedom to the people, Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic said today in a talk with a delegation of the organization of World War Two veterans.

The federal veterans' organization supports the program of the Federal Government and the veterans will give their vote to Markovic's party of reformists at the forthcoming elections, the veterans promised the prime minister.

Democratic Union of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia Formed

AU2110170690 Sofia BTA in English 1623 GMT 21 Oct 90

[Text] Nis, 21 Oct (BTA correspondent)—The Democratic Union of the Bulgarians in Yugoslavia has been founded in the building of the Skupstina in Nis. Its founders adopted a program according to which the union is a voluntary, independent and democratic organization of Yugoslav citizens of Bulgarian origin and of representatives of other nationalities in Yugoslavia that has cultural and political objects.

The union will be seated in Nis. After its registration it is planned to establish local councils in Dimitrovgrad, Bosilegrad and Belgrade. A 15-member provisional council was elected. It is chaired by Mr. Kiril Georgiev, a journalist who works for the BRATSTVO (Fraternity) paper issued in the Bulgarian language in Nis.

It is stated in the program that the union will carry out activity under the framework of the constitutions of Serbia and Yugoslavia and that it will be aimed mainly at preserving of the national awareness of the Bulgarian minority, and safeguarding the civil and national rights of the Bulgarians in democratic Serbia. The union will take special care of the study of the native language.

The Democratic Union of the Bulgarians in Yugoslavia will work for the rapprochement between Serbians and Bulgarians, between the two neighboring countries. The union declares itself to be for the free movement of people and ideas across the Bulgaro-Serbian frontier, for free access to the universities in the two countries and proposes that the two municipalities where the Bulgarian population is the most numerous—Dimitrovgrad and Bosilegrad, should become a zone of economic cooperation between Serbia and Bulgaria.

Jovic Praises UN Role, Notes Challenges

LD2310211690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1947 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Oct (TANJUG)—With the marking of the 45th anniversary of the United Nations in conditions when international relations are changing daily, promoting dialogue, understanding and cooperation where earlier there was confrontation—political, military and ideological—we are putting an end to one and launching a new era in global development, Borisav Jovic, president of the Presidency of Yugoslavia (the Yugoslav collective head of state), said today in a statement prompted by tomorrow's day of the United Nations.

Today, the U.N. faces new challenges, Jovic went on to say. Profound positive changes in international relations are shaping a different world. The U.N. is expected to take part in and stimulate these processes, on the basis of the authentic principles of its charter.

Prospects have opened for the U.N. to be a truly democratic representative of the entire community of nations, to eliminate hotbeds of [word indistinct], crisis and instability. It should act towards establishing relations based on a balance of interests, mutual respect and surmounting of differences in the interest of world peace and security, Jovic said.

The world exepcts the U.N. to be still more active in the future in bridging the wide social and economic gap between the developed and the developing and creating conditions for a better life, human dignity and freedom in all arts of the world, said president of the Yugoslav Presidency Borisav Jovic in his statement.